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THE HUNT FOR CAROLINA ELEPHANTS:

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1694 Token

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We are very pleased to introduce a new author, Neil Fulghum, to the pages of *CNL*. A native of Raleigh, North Carolina, Neil was hired by the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1986 to design and to build the North Carolina Collection Gallery for the Academic Affairs Library. There he continues his research and exhibit work as "keeper," a title that was established for a similar position at the university in 1795. Gallery exhibitions produced today by Neil showcase selections from one of the library's special-collections departments: the North Carolina Collection (NCC). The NCC's holdings are diverse, including 250,000 North Carolina-related books, pamphlets, broadsides, and other imprints; nearly a half million photographic images; and over 17,000 historic artifacts. Neil is directly responsible for organizing and preserving the latter group of material, which contains more than 8,500 numismatic specimens. Until those specimens were organized by him in 1992, they had remained stored and largely unseen for more than half a century. Neil is now working to expand and improve this part of the library's collection and is enlisting financial support for an endowment that is dedicated exclusively to numismatic projects and acquisitions at the university.

Before joining UNC-Chapel Hill's staff, Neil worked for a decade as a museum specialist with other agencies. In 1977, after receiving his M.A. in European history from East Carolina University, he began working at the North Carolina Division of Archives & History. From 1979 to 1986, he served as curator of research and development for the North Carolina Museum of History in Raleigh. As a curator there, he became quite familiar with the state museum's extensive currency collection, especially its

examples of colonial bills, Bechtler gold coins, antebellum notes, and Civil War issues.

During his museum/library career, Neil has researched and interpreted a wide range of topics relating to North Carolina's past. In recent years, he has begun to focus again on numismatics, publishing articles and presenting programs to local coin clubs and regional organizations. In 1998, his gallery exhibition "Hard Cash & Hard Times: A History of North Carolina Currency" drew national and international attention to UNC-Chapel Hill's collection. Two years later, he completed "Moneys for the Southern Cause," a subsection for *Documenting the American South*, a very large and growing on-line reference that is administered by the university's Academic Affairs Library. In addition to his affiliations with other professional organizations, Neil is the current president of the North Carolina Museums Council, whose membership includes staff from museums, science centers, and historic sites throughout the state.

Neil's first contribution to *CNL* is an important paper on the enigmatic and rare 1694 Carolina Elephant Token. One of his goals in researching and writing this paper was to place the token into its proper historical context. In this effort, Neil has investigated the agents who represented the lords proprietors' interests and who personally promoted the Carolina colony in London. From this study, he has suggested who might have been responsible for the tokens' production and distribution. Plus, Neil has studied the potential connection of the token to the Carolina Coffee-House along with its possible ties to like establishments in Cornhill and to the Merchants' Walks inside the Royal Exchange.

For the collectors of Elephant tokens, Neil has identified the earliest published American references. He has provided an overview of Elephant Token reproductions and called attention to a high-quality electrotypes that is often mistaken as genuine. His paper also initiates a project to compile a full census of Carolina Elephant tokens. Neil is very interested in communicating with collectors who wish to share information on their Elephant tokens, especially

data relating to Carolina specimens. Neil can be reached at North Carolina Collection Gallery, Wilson Library, CB# 3930, The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC 27514 or telephone (919) 962-1172 or e-mail rfulghum@email.unc.edu.

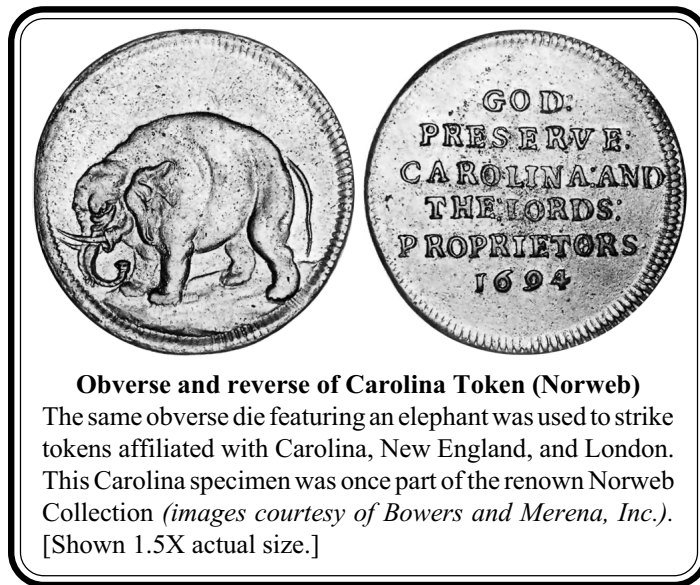
In the August 2002 issue of *CNL* (TN-187, pp. 2358-60), we reported the discovery of a Willow Tree shilling overstruck on a New England shilling. It was recently learned that this coin is a modern forgery made to deceive. Michael Hodder plans to present a report on this fake in a future issue of *CNL*. He will discuss how this coin was discovered to be a forgery and why it is so deceptive. Unfortunately, the Latin phrase *caveat emptor* (let the buyer beware) applies just as much today as it did in our past.

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**THE HUNT FOR CAROLINA ELEPHANTS:
Questions Regarding Genuine Specimens and Reproductions
of the 1694 Token**

by
R. Neil Fulghum; Chapel Hill, NC

Imagine this scene three centuries ago in colonial North America: an English settler is hunting game in the sparsely populated backwoods of Carolina. Quietly parting tall, dry weeds with one hand, he levels his musket and takes careful aim. The target for the hunter's stew pot is not a white-tailed deer, black bear, or rabbit; it is an African elephant, lumbering and squeezing its girth through



a dense forest of southern longleaf pines. Such a scene is, indeed, bizarre, one so incongruous in time and place that it draws certain attention in the telling, even from people who today profess little interest in the early history of our nation or, more specifically, in the field of numismatics. Yet, while the image of the Carolina hunter bagging enough pachyderm meat to feed an entire town is pure concoction, the elephant's association with the American colony is real.

The factual basis for an African animal's connection to Carolina is made through a copper token,

a coin-like piece minted in London for the colony in the final decade of the seventeenth century. Dominating this token's design is a full tusk-to-tail image of an elephant. On the obverse the beast stands in left-profile, its head slightly bowed, with its trunk curling backward, and possessing an ear that in form resembles a withered tulip. Overall, the animal's representation is finely crafted and a testament to the skills of the engraver who produced it so long ago. That artisan's identity remains uncertain, as do many other aspects concerning the token's production and true purpose. What also remains uncertain are the number of original tokens that were struck and the number that now survive.

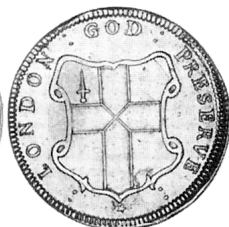
To date, relatively little has been written about the so-called "Carolina Elephant," and no publication has placed this particular token into a detailed historical context or described at length its various reproductions. There appears to be at least two firm pieces of evidence about the original token, both of which are drawn from the legend or inscription on its reverse. That inscription identifies for whom the piece was struck—the Carolina colony's "lords proprietors"—and the token's apparent year of issue. With the exception of a single, one-letter variation in the spelling of "PROPRIETORS," every Carolina Elephant Token bears the same date and seven words in relief on its backside: GOD : / PRESERVE : / CAROLINA : AND / THE : LORDS : / PROPRIETORS [or PROPRIETERS] · / 1694."

Adding to the mystery shrouding the Carolina token's origins and purpose is the existence of two very similar tokens: a New England type and a London type. Both are struck in copper as well,



Reverse of ER Carolina Reverse of New England

Initial strikes of the 1694 Carolina Token featured "PROPRIETERS" in its reverse legend. Overpunched with an "O," the die was altered to "PROPRIETORS" for later issues, although traces of the underlying "E" could still be detected. Special care should be taken by modern collectors, for some electrotypes of the 1694 tokens are so well crafted that they also bear these traces, giving the appearance that these copies are genuine. The legend of the exceedingly rare New England type also bears the date 1694 (*images courtesy of Bowers and Merena, Inc.*).



Obverse and reverse of London Token

While the London Elephant Token carries the same obverse as that of the Carolina and New England types, this token is the only one of the three that is undated. Dominating its reverse are the city arms of London, although there is no evidence that the piece was issued by public officials in England's capital (*images courtesy of Bowers and Merena, Inc.*).

are of the same general proportions, carry the same obverse image of an elephant, and date from the same period. The reverse of the New England type is inscribed in a like manner and textual style as the Carolina Token, with "GOD: / PRESERVE: / NEW: / ENGLAND: / 1694." Only the third type, the London type, is undated. Its reverse is more complex in design than the other two, but it, too, features an appeal for divine grace. The legend "LONDON: GOD : PRESERVE" runs upward from 7:00 to 5:00, partially encircling a scrolled shield with London's city arms. At the shield's center are quadrants formed by a bold Cross of Saint George [with two varieties having a smaller *saltire* (X) overlying the plain cross's intersection]. A diminutive sword or dagger garnishes the first (top-left) quadrant on three of this type's four die combinations which moves to the second (top-right) quadrant on the fourth. Many questions about the London Token and the other elephant tokens remain unanswered. For one, how may the Carolina Token, if at all, be connected to the other two? Another, if the lords proprietors did issue the Carolina Token, what circumstances in their day would have prompted them to strike such a piece? In addressing these questions and others, it is necessary to reconstruct in some detail the political and economic factors that affected the formation and early development of the Carolina colony.

The reconstruction of obscure historical topics often takes generations of research to complete or to yield appreciable form. Like some tedious architectural restoration, the work is done brick by brick, course by course, over an extended period. To be sure, the course of interpretation and level of material available on Carolina Elephant tokens and their New England and London counterparts remain low but this does not mean that work on this 309-year-old subject has been entirely idle. In the past decade, some numismatists have re-examined theories about the tokens' manufacture and possible applications. In 1995, Frank Steimle and David Gladfelter attempted to add a few more "bricks" to the tokens' scant form in separate articles that were published in *The Colonial Newsletter* (CNL).¹ Steimle's work constructs a broad historical framework for reviewing past commentaries about the Carolina, London, and New England tokens' design, the varying thickness of their copper planchets, and their possible use as coinage. He also addresses the

often-debated theory that the two obverse dies used in producing Carolina and New England tokens were recycled hardware that had been designed and cut, perhaps decades earlier, to strike unknown pieces for the Royal African Company. Steimle's work and that of some others who have researched this question, such as Michael J. Hodder, cast further doubt on that theory.² For his part, Gladfelter in his 1995 *CNL* article, "A Tale of Two Elephants," makes concise, persuasive arguments that all three types of Elephant tokens were produced at the Royal Mint in the Tower of London. He also contends that the "1694" inscribed on the Carolina and New England types do designate the actual year of their release, and supports Steimle's view that all the Elephant tokens, including the undated London ones, were "manufactured at or near the same time."³ This view is counter to some earlier theories by researchers that the London varieties were produced long before the others. Numismatists who prescribe to these opinions connect "GOD PRESERVE" on the London tokens to that city's devastation by plague and fire in the mid-1660s and couple the elephant design to the Royal African Company in that same period.⁴

Owing to what Steimle describes as the "perplexing, poorly documented" history of the Elephant tokens, it is not surprising that this numismatic topic has remained a highly specialized interest to a relatively small group of collectors.⁵ More telling information relating either directly or peripherally to the tokens surely lies buried in the Public Record Office in England or in wayward files at repositories elsewhere. Notwithstanding such discoveries, interest in this topic is likely to increase in the coming years, thanks in no small measure to a superb numismatic website that has markedly increased public access to this topic. Anyone of late who has investigated Elephant tokens should be aware of this site. It pertains to holdings in the Hesburgh Library at the University of Notre Dame.⁶ Numismatist and director of special collections Louis E. Jordan has developed there an extensive, highly informative on-line reference. Funded by the Robert H. Gore, Jr., Numismatic Endowment, this multi-level site describes and illustrates coinage, tokens, paper currencies, and other media of exchange from America's colonial and early federal periods. One entire subsection is devoted to "Elephant Tokens 1694." In addition to featuring an introductory essay by Jordan on these tokens, the subsection provides magnified images of two original London specimens. It also provides obverse and reverse views of one well-crafted Carolina reproduction, which until recently was misidentified in the Gore Collection as genuine.⁷

With regard to the article at hand, this monograph intends to re-examine various aspects of English history pertaining to the Carolina colony and in doing so contribute information that may assist in the reconstruction of the Elephant tokens' enigmatic story. These discussions will be presented in two parts. The first part will trace the early development of Carolina and offer insight into the prevailing economic conditions of 1694 England. This will include information about the promotional and meeting activities of Carolina's lords proprietors in this period. Expanding on some points already made by earlier researchers about the tokens' manufacture, descriptions of the Royal Mint's facilities in the late seventeenth century will be provided as well. These discussions will suggest possible reasons why the proprietors would have selected the elephant for their token's design. The second part of this article will then turn to early collectors of Elephant tokens, to some of the craftsmen who produced reproductions of these pieces, to notable auctions of genuine specimens, and to a survey of Elephant tokens in major public collections. The diagnostics of one high-quality fake of the Carolina Token should be of particular interest to modern collectors. Partial results from the recent survey should be of additional interest. It indicates that genuine Carolina Elephant tokens are far more rare today than many experienced collectors may realize.

**Who exactly were Carolina's lords proprietors, how did they advertise their colony,
and what circumstances may have prompted them to produce and issue
a token in 1694?**

In order to trace and understand fully the origins of the Carolina Token, its variations, and an elephant's link to the Carolina colony, it is necessary to lumber back through the pages of English history to 1660 and the court of King Charles II. Charles in that year returned to London from continental Europe to ascend the throne and resume the Stuart monarchy. For more than a decade, the Stuarts' rule had been interrupted by the rise of anti-royal forces in Parliament, civil war, and the Cromwells' Commonwealth and Protectorate. Unfortunately for the previous king—Charles II's father—this interregnum began not only with his removal from power but with the removal of his head as well. On a cold afternoon in January, 1649, after a final, transubstantiate meal of bread with a small glass of claret, Charles I was escorted to a black-draped scaffold erected in front of the Banqueting House in London. There, across from Whitehall Gate and before thousands of spectators, the king knelt before the chopping block.⁸

Given the fate of his father, it is understandable that Charles II endeavored from the outset of his reign to secure the crown and insure that all of his own body parts remained intact. In the early 1660s, he worked to consolidate his position by bestowing privileges and awards on proven supporters and potential allies. Among the recipients of Charles II's favor were eight English nobles who had assisted the Stuarts' restoration. These well-heeled, well-connected royalists sought the king's permission to establish a new colony in North America that they, as lords proprietors, would promote and administer together as a private business, as a joint-stock company. The eight included Charles' lord high chancellor and first minister, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. The others were George Monck, Duke of Albemarle; William, Earl of Craven; Lord John Berkeley; John's brother, Sir William Berkeley; Sir George Carteret; Anthony Ashley-Cooper [later Earl of Shaftesbury]; and Sir John Colleton.⁹

The proposal put forth by this group of nobles was not entirely original. It resurrected settlement plans made more than thirty years earlier by Sir Robert Heath, then attorney general to Charles I. Obtaining a royal patent in 1629, Heath had attempted but failed to develop an American colony that encompassed all the lands situated between 31 and 36 degrees north latitude and stretching without prescribed western limits to the Pacific Ocean. Heath had christened his "New World" venture *Carolana*, a name to honor his ill-fated king and based on the Latin word for Charles, *Carolus*. The colony now proposed by the eight proprietors was to occupy the same basic coordinates as those set for Carolana, although its borders would later be expanded by two degrees to the south and by a half-degree to the north.¹⁰ Like its predecessor, the new proprietary colony would comprise a vast area. It included what are today the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, part of northern Florida, and all the states that lie within the given latitudinal plane to modern-day California and "as far as the South Seas."¹¹ Not to be outdone in stroking a royal ego, the proprietors opted like Heath to use the same Latin root to name their planned colony. However, they altered the spelling slightly to differentiate it from Heath's inactive patent, which had been abrogated by Charles II and his council. The new enterprise would be called *Carolina*.

Despite the honor in name and the American project's conceptual ties to his father, Charles II harbored misgivings about granting such extensive territorial and administrative rights even to worthy supporters. The king ultimately suppressed his qualms and approved the nobles' plan. On March 24, 1663, he signed and issued the official Carolina Charter.¹² At the time, there were already small numbers of Europeans living within the northeastern fringe of the new proprietary colony. Most of them were English who had gradually filtered into the territory from Virginia, carving out homesteads from Native American lands that now constitute North Carolina's upper coastal plain.



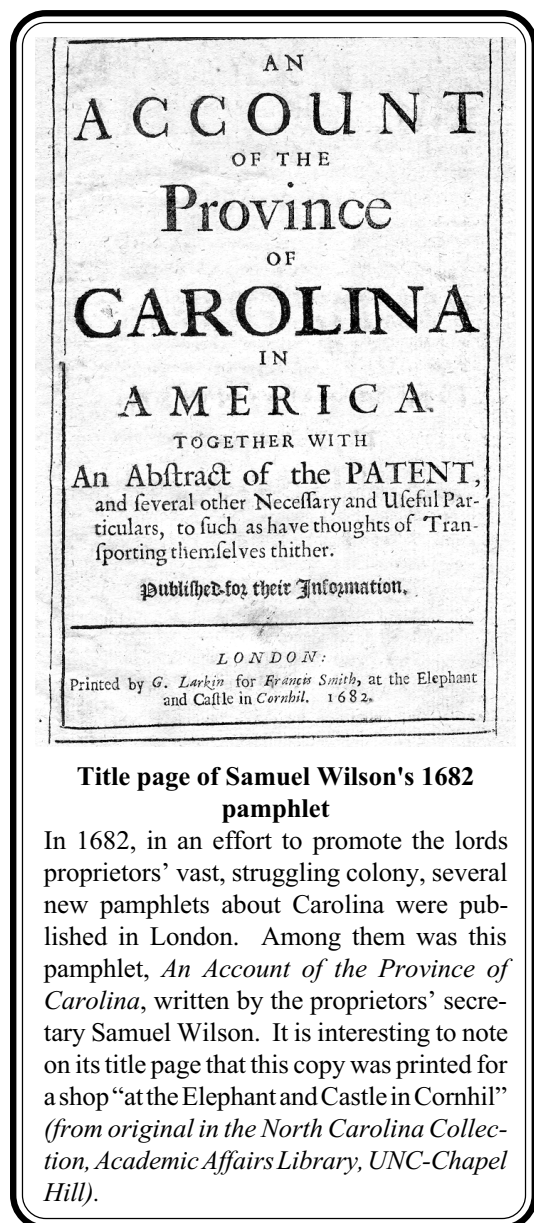
Map of Carolina

As prescribed by its 1663 charter, the Carolina colony's western boundary, at least theoretically, stretched beyond California to the "Mare Pacificum" (the South Sea). This English-made map of North America, *ca.* 1699, draws heavily on an earlier work by Italian cartographer Vincenzo Maria Coronelli. It depicts Carolina in the east and reveals how Carolina's western territories conflicted with Spain's long-established claims in North America. Note that California is represented incorrectly as a huge island separated entirely from the continent by the "Vermilion Sea" [Gulf of California] (*reproduced from copy in North Carolina Collection, Academic Affairs Library, UNC-Chapel Hill*).

The first white settler documented to be a permanent resident in the Carolana/Carolina region was Nathaniel Batts. In 1653, the Englishman had constructed a tiny two-room dwelling and trading post at the western end of the Albemarle Sound.¹³ For Batts and for those who followed him to this part of America, life was an isolated, hardscrabble existence, a day-to-day struggle that demanded near total self-sufficiency. This was a lifestyle that would define Carolina's development for many years to come. By 1670, the proprietors documented that lands farther south, around the Ashley River in South Carolina, were settled.¹⁴ It was at this time that Charles Town (now Charleston) was founded as the colony's capital. Overall, Carolina's population and low-surplus economy continued to grow very slowly in the 1670s, as did the proprietors' expectations that respectable profits might one day emerge from their overseas holdings. Still, not all growth relating to Carolina was slow during this early period. What did grow in England, and considerably so in governmental and financial circles in London, was the colony's reputation as a mismanaged, unruly place. Its settlers were known for their defiance of authority and, on occasion, for open rebellion against it. Between 1672 and 1689, five of Carolina's governors were either deposed, fled, or were tried and banished by armed citizens.¹⁵

To counter adverse reports about Carolina and to encourage investment and settlement there, the lords proprietors published and circulated pamphlets in England that offered idyllic views of their

"fair and spacious Province."¹⁶ These attempts to polish some of the tarnish off Carolina's reputation noticeably increased as unrest escalated in the colony in the early 1680s. In London, in 1682, the proprietors released a series of new tracts penned by different authors. Several of these writers continued to exaggerate freely nature's bounty in Carolina and to misrepresent the ease of life in this part of America. Among the group of imprints issued in 1682 were *A True Description of Carolina* written by Joel Gascoyne; *The Present State of Carolina with Advice to the Settlers* [sic], credited to an author simply identified as "R.F."; *Carolina; or, A Description of the Present State of that Country and the Natural Excellencies Thereof* by Thomas Ashe; and *An Account of the Province of Carolina* by Samuel Wilson. Wilson, it should be noted, had begun serving as "Secretary in [the proprietors] Carolina-Affairs" in 1678.¹⁷ He also served as personal secretary to William, Earl of Craven, who would be the last of the original eight lords proprietors to die, finally succumbing in 1697.¹⁸



The location in London where Samuel Wilson's 1682 pamphlet was published should be of added interest to researchers investigating the Carolina Elephant Token, if for no other reason than its irony. The title page for *An Account of the Province of Carolina* records that it was "Printed by G. Larkin for Francis Smith, at the Elephant and Castle in Cornhil [sic]."¹⁹ Although it is quite doubtful that this "Elephant and Castle" establishment in 1682 had links of any kind to the design of a token a dozen years in the future, it is a reference that illustrates a point that will be discussed at greater length in this article. The elephant, at least in name and as a symbol, was widely applied and already quite familiar to England's citizenry in the seventeenth century.

In addition to releasing more glowing literature about Carolina in 1682, the lords proprietors and their secretary initiated a more direct "campaign" for promoting the colony and attracting settlers.²⁰ Public announcements that year were circulated throughout London inviting people to the Carolina Coffee-House in "Burching-Lane" (Birchin Lane today) to hear weekly presentations about the merits of investing in or relocating to America. Samuel Wilson and some of the proprietors themselves led these regular meetings. In his 1682 pamphlet, Wilson extends yet another coffeehouse invitation to interested parties and documents the booking cost at the time for sailing to Carolina:

The Passage of a man or woman to Carolina is five Pound[s], Ships are going thither all times of the year. Some of the *Lords Proprietors*, or my self, will be every Tuesday at 11 of the clock at the *Carolina-*

Coffee-house in *Burching*-Lane near the Royal Exchange to inform all people what Ships are going, or any other thing whatsoever.²¹

The Carolina Coffee-House's proximity to the Exchange made an ideal venue for promoting settlement and investment in the proprietors' "American plantation." Into the 1690s, this establishment at Birch Lane would remain the proprietors' main forum for advertising their project.

Notwithstanding the proprietors' literary and coffeehouse efforts to boost Carolina's appeal, immigration to both the northern and southern parts of the colony continued to lag into the early 1690s. Citing population totals at any given point in the proprietary era is a tricky proposition, for precise census figures are not part of Carolina's surviving record. Estimates, however, of the population can be calculated from general statistics found in some county rent and tax rolls. These documents provide evidence that after the civic unrest of the 1680s Carolina actually experienced a decline in population, so that by 1694 the colony was home to only about 8,000 people.²² Whatever the exact figure of Carolina's population, decisions made by the proprietors in 1694 reveal that they still had a pressing need to increase Carolina's population and to improve the colony's on-site administration.

In London in 1694, the proprietors selected a man whom they hoped would finally set a calm, deliberate course for Carolina. On August 31, they appointed John Archdale to be the colony's new governor and prepared official instructions for his move to America.²³ A devout Quaker, Archdale was viewed by some contemporaries as vain and quick-tempered, but he was respected for his competence and aptitude for business.²⁴ Beyond conflicting personal opinions about Archdale's demeanor and abilities, his short term of service as Carolina's governor (1694-1696) was to mark the beginning of a period of more orderly government and modest but stable economic growth for the colony. His appointment that summer in 1694 appears to have coincided with something else that was presumably done by Carolina's proprietors or done by someone on their behalf: the design and production of a copper token or medal. Perhaps the very idea of producing such a piece reflected renewed expectations on the part of the proprietors. Most certainly, with more pragmatic intentions in mind, the investors' group could have viewed the release of such a piece as a novel way, other than publications or coffeehouse presentations, to draw much-needed attention to their thirty-one-year-old enterprise.

Promoting Carolina effectively was a persistent challenge for the lords proprietors, especially in and around London in the 1690s. On the surface, England's capital would seem an easy place to enlist investors. The city had survived calamities of fire and plague in the 1660s and by the end of the seventeenth century, with a population of over half a million, greater London was surpassing Paris as the largest city in Europe.²⁵ Yet, London's merchants and the rest of England's economy in the early 1690s were not thriving. Widespread, heavy taxation had failed to meet the royal government's mounting financial burdens, most notably the military costs for waging "King William's War" against France (1689-1697). A rising national debt and poor harvests in England in 1693 siphoned revenue from established markets and drained funds from the limited pool of investors who were willing to speculate on a questionable colonial scheme that lay four thousand miles across the Atlantic. Disturbing international news only complicated the economic situation, further undermining the stability of overseas markets and the confidence of traders. There were in 1693 a series of French military successes in Europe, seizures of English commercial vessels by privateers, as well as effective enemy raids on English colonial settlements in New York and New England.²⁶ Making matters even worse, public confidence in the value of English coinage in circulation continued to erode due to widespread clipping. Officials weighing 572 sample bags of old silver coins in this period found that they weighed only a little more than half of what they should. Such results prompted Parliament in 1695 to develop a national plan for a complete recoinage.²⁷

A positive and notable event in the financial history of England occurred in the summer of 1694. The Bank of England was established. This institution's formal opening in June could be misconstrued as a sign of economic recovery or, on a broader level, London's emergence as the center of financial power in Europe. This was not the case. The principal reason for the founding of this famous bank was to mobilize funds and underwrite much-needed loans for the crown. Not surprisingly, due to what British historian Craig Rose deems the "grim trade conditions of the early 1690s," many of those who eagerly bought up shares in the Bank of England's initial issue of stock were members of the country's mercantile community.²⁸

In such a trouble-filled economic environment, the task of promoting an American colony with a dubious past and marginal prospects would clearly be affected. The Carolina proprietors' investment had never been a venture that was easy to peddle. What other method could they have used to advance their project, especially in the tight fiscal conditions of 1693-1694? In this writer's opinion, a token or medal would seem an ideal means for spreading Carolina's name and keeping the venture in the minds and, quite literally, in the hands of prospective investors and settlers.

Were the Carolina tokens produced at the Royal Mint and, if so, who may have arranged their production for the lords proprietors?

Frank Steimle, David Gladfelter, Louis Jordan, this writer, and others who have researched the Elephant tokens' history are either convinced or lean heavily toward the conclusion that the Carolina Token and its London and New England counterparts were struck at the Royal Mint (often referred to as the Tower Mint). There is evidence, both *prima facie* and circumstantial, that the tokens were produced there. Steimle and Gladfelter in their 1995 articles allude to English numismatist Thomas Snelling, who documented seeing an old Elephant die in the mint's inventory at the Tower in 1769.²⁹ Although Snelling did not document the die's condition, it can be presumed that it remained in a usable state. Any die seen by Snelling, whether on exhibit or stored among other working dies, would have been under the assigned care of the Royal Mint's "clerk of irons." This official was responsible for not only maintaining and safeguarding all dies at the Tower, he was under standing orders to deface and destroy any that were deemed "overworn or obsolete."³⁰

The fate of the Elephant die seen by Snelling remains unknown. Richard Doty, curator of numismatics at the Smithsonian Institution, brought to this writer's attention another early reference to the surviving die. In England, in 1790, the elephant design on the "London halfpenny" is mentioned in a letter published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*. That 1790 correspondence notes that the "die is still remaining in the Tower."³¹ What happened to the die after this 1790 reference is unknown. One hundred and twenty years later, in 1910, there was no accounting for it in a comprehensive inventory conducted by the Royal Mint's archivists.³²

It was Thomas Snelling's opinion that the die in question was likely the work of John Roettier, chief engraver at the Royal Mint from 1670 to 1697. Gladfelter in his article expresses doubt about the work's attribution to Roettier. Gladfelter, however, puts forth more physical evidence that supports the contention that the tokens were designed and struck within the Tower's walls. His evidence is based on a comparison of styles of lettering and numerals on Elephant tokens with styles used on some other certified products of the mint. He found sufficient similarities to ascribe the pieces to the Tower.³³ New circumstantial evidence found while researching this article further bolsters Gladfelter's case that the Royal Mint struck the tokens. This evidence also suggests who could have arranged the Carolina tokens' production for the lords proprietors in 1694.

In the weeks and days before formally appointing John Archdale as Carolina's new governor in August 1694, the proprietors convened three meetings in London to assess and discuss ongoing



Portrait of William, Earl of Craven

William, Earl of Craven (1606-1697), was the last of Carolina's eight original proprietors to die. The Earl was among the small group who convened in London on Tower Hill in the summer of 1694 to discuss Carolina's ongoing "contentions" and to appoint John Archdale in August as governor for the proprietors' American colony (*North Carolina Collection, Academic Affairs Library, UNC-Chapel Hill*).

unrest or "contentions" in their American colony.³⁴ The first of these gatherings was held on June 16; the other two, on July 23 and July 28. Only a few proprietors and their associates attended. Participants included Archdale and William, Earl of Craven, who tottered into the meetings at the age of eighty-eight years. The Earl of Bath also took part. Through court proceedings, the Earl of Bath had become a proprietor a few months earlier, in April, after obtaining the shares of the deceased second Duke of Albemarle. Attending, too, were Thomas Amy and William Thornburgh. Amy is identified as a London "grocer" and long-time agent for the proprietors; Thornburgh, another local merchant, acted as guardian for the interests of the second Sir John Colleton, who was then a minor.³⁵ One important aspect of the June 16 meeting is its documented location. It convened at "Mr. Thornburgh's residence on Tower Hill."³⁶ Thornburgh participated in the subsequent July meetings, so it is highly probable that the small group reconvened at his home. With official discussions on Carolina being held on Tower Hill, within near shouting distance of the Tower itself, the Royal Mint would have offered a very convenient site for arranging the production of a token. Since these summer meetings in London are the only ones documented to have been convened by the proprietors in 1694, it is possible, too, that plans for producing a Carolina Token or medal at the Tower could have been finalized then and there.

Research thus far has found no citation that identifies with certainty who administered the production of the Carolina Token on behalf of the proprietors. To be sure, once a decision was made to design and strike such a piece, one of the proprietors or an agent for them would have contacted the Royal Mint's staff, relayed instructions to them, and monitored to some extent the contracted work. From the record of participants in the 1694 Tower Hill meetings before Archdale's appointment, a likely candidate for such work emerges. The grocer Thomas Amy would have been the person most likely to handle this type of assignment. Identified in another source as "a London drugster," Amy was related through marriage to one of the original lords proprietor.³⁷ In 1684 he assumed, at least in title, a proprietorship when four of the proprietors directed him to hold in trust for them shares once owned by the late Sir William Berkeley. The circumstances of Amy's relationship with the other proprietors imply that in these early years he served more as attendant than proprietor. It was around this time that he succeeded Samuel Wilson as the person who coordinated the promotion of Carolina for the proprietors. Like Wilson, Amy now hosted regular public meetings at the Carolina Coffee-House entertaining prospective settlers and investors.³⁸ In recognition of Amy's "industrious" work at Birchin Lane and for his other services, the proprietors in 1694 granted him 12,000 acres in Carolina and then a barony of an additional 48,000 acres.³⁹ Amy's ten years of service as an errand-boy and agent for the proprietors would have given him ample experience in handling affairs in London relating to the American colony. Even more so, Amy's newly awarded lands in Carolina would have given him the motivation in 1694 to oversee personally any project that might aid in promoting and enriching his own holdings.

Where was the Royal Mint located in the Tower of London in 1694? How extensive were its facilities there, and who on its staff may have designed and produced the Elephant tokens?

In making arrangements to have a token designed for Carolina and a supply of pieces struck, it is near certain that the lords proprietors relied on facilities inside the Tower of London. This historic fortress on the north bank of the River Thames had served many functions for the English realm since its first stones were laid in the late eleventh century. Parts of the Tower had provided accommodations for royal families for generations, but gradually its buildings were used less and less as a palace. The last monarch to use the Tower as a principal residence was Henry VII, who died in 1509.⁴⁰ The decline in the personal use of the complex by Henry's successors did not lessen the Tower's importance in the affairs of state. By 1694, its myriad of rooms, ancillary buildings, and grounds remained multifunctional and filled with activity. It provided secure spaces for assorted offices, an armory, treasury, the sovereign's menagerie, and for confining important, high-profile prisoners. The Tower also housed the Royal Mint, which by then had been operating behind its walls for more than four hundred years.

The mint had evolved into an extensive operation by 1694. Its buildings filled three-quarters of the Tower's "Outer Ward," the narrow corridor of space between the fortress' perimeter walls and its next line of inner walls. There in a rambling series of structures, mostly wooden, the Royal Mint's officers and staff carried out their duties. Principally, these included designing and striking coinage, seals, and medals; casting statues; and executing other custom metalwork for the sovereign, the nation's administrative and military services, and for other customers approved by the crown.⁴¹ The Outer Ward also provided living quarters for mint personnel, office areas for the master, deputy master, and clerks; guard rooms; furnace rooms for assaying and casting operations; rows of storehouses; stables for the horses that powered rolling mills, and shops for blank and die cutters, punchers, screw-press operators, blanchers, and sizers.

Amid the mix of people living and working inside the Tower in 1694 was John Roettier, a medallist of exceptional skill. Roettier had immigrated to London from Belgium more than thirty years before, joining the mint's staff in 1661 at the invitation of the recently installed Charles II.⁴² Admiration for Roettier's handiwork may not have been the only reason Charles took an interest in the young man. In some measure, the king's interest was a gesture of appreciation bestowed on the entire Roettier family. John's father, living in Antwerp, was a prosperous goldsmith and banker who had financially supported Charles during a portion of the Stuart successor's exile. Refining and intricately shaping metal seemed to be inherited skills in the Roettier family. John's two younger brothers, Joseph and Philip, were accomplished artisans themselves and were employed by the Royal Mint in 1670. They resided in the Tower and worked alongside John as assistant engravers until each left to accept positions at other mints on the continent.⁴³ John remained in London for the rest of his life, serving as chief engraver at the Royal Mint from 1670 to 1697. His sons, James and Norbert, also worked with him as engravers during the last years of his career. Unfortunately for John, a Catholic, those final years were fraught with official rebuke and allegations that he had engaged in "treasonable correspondence" against King William. Roettier was also accused of being involved with the disappearance of some dies from the mint and with striking coinage "for the service of [the deposed] King James."⁴⁴ Viewed with suspicion by the mint's new master, Sir Isaac Newton, Roettier found life unbearable in the Tower by 1698. The engraver moved to Red Lion Square to reside for the first time in decades outside its walls. Later, shortly before his death, Roettier accepted a commission to create a medal for Queen Anne and he returned to his old workplace. The year of Roettier's death is listed with some inconsistency in numismatic references. Some sources cite 1700; others, 1703. It was the latter. The registry for the Chapel Royal of Saint Peter ad Vincula, which is where he was buried inside the Tower, marks Roettier's death date as June 17, 1703.⁴⁵



Northwest exterior wall of the Tower of London



Mint Street inside the Tower

The Royal Mint was housed inside the Tower of London for over 500 years (*ca.* 1279-1812). Here the mint's facilities gradually expanded over the centuries, occupying more and more of the Tower's Outer Ward, a space formed by the fortress' curtain or perimeter walls and its first set of interior walls. Shown here (*top*) is a northwestern section of the Tower's perimeter wall. Partially visible at the right is a small bell tower. This is a portion of the Chapel Royal of Saint Peter ad Vincula, where engraver John Roettier was buried in 1703. Located directly on the other side of this wall is "Mint Street" (*above*), the former site of the nation's coining operations. Today this street is off-limits to tourists and accommodates living quarters for Tower staff and administrative offices (*photographs by author*).

Roettier, his brothers, and later his sons witnessed important developments at the Royal Mint. When John arrived at the Tower to begin his work, the last hand-struck issues of English coinage were being produced there. Milled coin production was being expanded and increasingly mechanized. The first Roettier-designed coinage produced at the Tower was the royal government's 1662 silver crown.⁴⁶ As far as artistic improvements at the mint were concerned, it was John who contributed most to the facility's growing reputation for design in Europe. He became somewhat of a celebrity in and around London for his work. The English naval official and obsessive diarist Samuel Pepys was one of those impressed by the talents of "Rotyr."⁴⁷ Pepys visited and dined at the Tower on several occasions in the 1660s and preserved his observations about the mint's operations in a personal journal. Thankfully for Pepys, his notes concerning England's coining processes were not published in his lifetime. If he had publicly shared this information in print, in whatever detail, he could have been prosecuted by authorities for divulging what were then classified as state secrets. Pepys himself

realized the sensitivity of what he wrote. In his entry of May 19, 1663, he implies with disappointment on a tour of the mint that he was unable to learn about the marking of “letters” on the edges of coins. This technique and that of “graining” the edges were now being used at the facility to combat counterfeiting and clipping. Pepys remarks that the lettering machine at the Tower “is kept as the great secret by [Pierre] Blondeau,” an engineer.⁴⁸

Other May 19 entries in Pepys’ diary describe the basic procedures and equipment utilized by the Royal Mint in 1663 to manufacture coins. According to him, horse-drawn equipment was used only to flatten and adjust strips of metal from which blanks were cut. The diarist goes on to describe step-by-step the striking of pieces on screw presses, with five-man teams at each. Four of these men, working in pairs, were harnessed to large leather straps or belts that were attached to either end of a long throw-arm atop the press. The fifth man in the team, the blank-setter, sat in a shallow pit in front of the machine. There this workman would position blanks between the *trussel* and *pile* (upper and lower die) in rapid succession.⁴⁹ The throw-arm operators then would swing in synchronized motion in one direction, bringing the dies together; then swing the other way, separating the dies. The setter then instantly ejected the pressed coin and positioned the next blank. This was monotonous and precarious work, especially for the setter, who was in constant peril of losing fingers or parts of digits. Great stamina and precise coordination and timing were required of the press operators, who worked in rotating fifteen-minute shifts. It is recorded that experienced press teams were capable of striking as many as twenty-five coins per minute. Such a rate translates to a coin being struck every 2.4 seconds, or, if such blazing speed could be maintained, as many as 375 coins during each fifteen-minute press rotation.⁵⁰ This labor-intensive, hand-operated process would continue basically unchanged for the next century and a half. Not until the early 1800s, when the Royal Mint moved to new facilities outside the Tower, were stream-driven presses installed.⁵¹

In recounting the minting process in the Tower, Pepys begins by describing the first step of “essaying” coin metal and using lead in “little earthen cupps made of Stuffe like tobacco pipes” to flux impurities from molten metals.⁵² He reports how boiling nitric acid, “*aqua fortis* [*fortis*],” consolidates the residues of precious metals and separates gold from silver. Next, after rendering an alloy with the correct fineness for coining, the diarist outlines the remaining nine steps in the process:

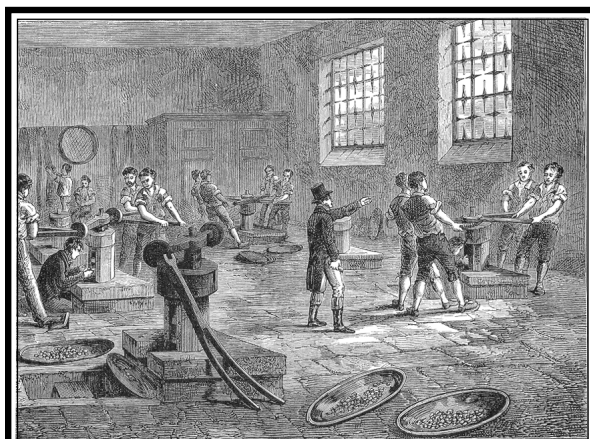
2. They melt it into long plates; which, if the mould do take ayre, then that plate is not of an equal heavynesse in every part of it, as it often falls out.
3. They draw these plates between rollers, to bring them to an even thickness all along and every plate of the same thickness. And it is very strange how the drawing it twice easily between the rowlers will make it as hot as fire, you cannot touch it.
4. They bring it to another pair of Rowlers, which they call adjousting it—which brings it to a greater exactnesse in its thickness then the first could do.
5. They cut them into round pieces, which they do with the greatest ease, speed and exactness in the world.
6. They weigh these; and where they find any to be too heavy, they file them (which they call Sizeing them); or light, they lay them by; which is very seldom but they are of a most exact weight. But however, in the melting, all parts by some accident not being close alike, now and then a difference will be. And this fying being done, there shall not be any imaginable difference almost between the weight of 40 of these against another 40 chosen by chance out of all their heapes.

7. These round pieces having been cut out of the plates, which in passing the rollers are bent, they are sometimes a little crooked or swelling out or sinking in; and therefore they have way of clapping a hundred or two together into an engine, which with a screw presses them so hard that they come out as flat as is possible.

8. They blanch them [clean the planchets in an acid solution].

9. They mark the letters on the edges, which is kept as the great secret by Blondeau (who was not in the way and so I did not speak with him today).

10. They mill them; that is, put on the marks on both sides at once, with great exactness and speed—and then the money is perfect. The Mill is after this manner; one of the dyes, which hath one side of the piece cut, is fastened to a thing fixed below; and the other dye (and they tell me a payre of Dyes will last the marking of 10000/ before it be worn out, they and all other tools being made of hardened steel, and the Du[t]chman [Roettier (who was actually Flemish)] who makes them is an admirable artist, and hath so much by the pound for every pound that is coyned, to find a constant supply of dyes) to an engine above, which is moveable by a screw which is pulled by men; and then a piece being clap[p]ed by one sitting below between the two dyes, when they meet the impression is set; and then the man with his finger strikes off the piece and claps another on; and then the other men they pull again and that is marked; and then another and another, with great speed.⁵³



Interior of Royal Mint, early 1800s

The striking of coinage on screw presses remained largely unchanged at the Royal Mint from the latter seventeenth century until the early decades of the nineteenth century. This image of the mint's interior dates from about 1820. It depicts the five-man teams required to operate each press, including the planchet-setter who sits in a recess on the floor. The only significant difference in the presses used in this scene and those used a century and a half earlier is the throw-arm. Instead of grasping fork-shaped arms like the ones here, seventeenth-century press operators were harnessed to the arms by leather belts (*numismatic files of the North Carolina Collection, Academic Affairs Library, UNC-Chapel Hill*).

These processes described by Samuel Pepys in 1663 would, with minor modifications, remain identical to those that were in use at the Royal Mint three decades later in the production of coinage for the realm and of less complicated pieces for customers like Carolina's proprietors.

While Thomas Snelling attributed the elephant design to John Roettier, sources consulted for this article could find no tie between Roettier and the obverse dies used to produce the Carolina, New England, and London tokens. Compared to other work being performed at the Royal Mint in 1694, the manufacture of limited runs of copper tokens or medals of this type would have been viewed as fairly minor, low-priority contracts for the mint's busy staff. In all likelihood, an engraver of Roettier's reputation and position would not have had a direct hand in designing or crafting a die for such pieces. In any case, by this time Roettier would have been well over sixty years of age. Undoubtedly, though, he would have been familiar with this contract, perhaps supervising to some extent the work or examining the quality of the finished dies.

Any questions regarding John Roettier's work, particularly on some later pieces produced at the Royal Mint, can get muddled. Not infrequently, there is confusion in modern references with attributions to "Roettier's" work at the Tower. There were, as described, five members of the Roettier family working there at various times between 1662 and 1698. In 1694, both of John's sons were engravers at the mint. Conceivably, either James or Norbert Roettier may have been involved in some manner with the Elephant tokens' production. One interesting development in 1694 was the English government's hiring of outside contractors to strike official halfpennies and farthings. A license for this work was issued that year to Sir Joseph Herne, Sir Francis Parry, George Clark, Abel Slaney, and Daniel Barton.⁵⁴ According to the government contract, these men were to produce, beginning in mid-summer 1694, a total of 700 tons of coinage by 1701. In part, these contractors were required to manufacture coins "*of best English copper, rolled and milled,*" with halfpenny weights set at 166.6 grains and farthings at 83.3. The 1694 contract also specified that blanks for the coinage "should be '*struck at the Mint.*'"⁵⁵ Despite this latter requirement, "a fairly high proportion" of the pieces made by the contractors were struck on cast rather than rolled blanks.⁵⁶

On July 3, 1694, at the same time work commenced on Herne, Parry, Clark, Slaney, and Barton's contract, Queen Mary formally acted on a petition submitted by London goldsmith Thomas Woods, granting him permission to strike in copper at the Royal Mint "meddalls" and other pieces for trade in "foreign Countreys."⁵⁷ A portion of that 1694 royal order reads as follows:

... the meddalls that have beene heretofore made in England for some particular occasions being done in Gold and Silver only have been but few and by reason of their dearness came to the hands of but a very small number of Persons. And further that those having contrived and invented diverse sorts of figures of all sizes for such meddalls as above is [mentioned] as also diverse other sorts of copper meddalls for trade (to be disposed of in foreign Countreys—which shall be thought be most proper and acceptable to the respective Countreys to which they are sent) to be coyned in fine copper to render them more common. and to that end that hee the Petitioner hath contracted with our Engravers in the Mint to Engrave and cause to be coyned great Quantities of such invented meddalls for the purposes aforesaid. If wee should be graciously pleased to agree there unto and hath therefore prayed an Order to the Officers of the Mint that the monyers at the Petitioners own charges may coyne such and soo many copper meddalls or [Pieces] for Trade as hee shall require . . . Our will and Pleasure is and wee doo hereby authorise and Impower as well the Engravers of our Mint now and for the time being to Engrave and make Dyes to the coyning of such meddall figures and Devine all the proper cost and charges of the said Thomas Wood as shall from time to time be desired by him.⁵⁸

This 1694 order and the activities of other private contractors at the Tower that year could lead modern researchers to speculate about possible connections to the "1694" inscribed on the Carolina and New England Elephant tokens. No documentation, however, has been uncovered thus far that links the lords proprietors or their representatives to any of these private minters. Yet, it is enticing to realize that the proprietors' meetings in London in June and July 1694 did coincide with the crown's consideration and action on Woods' petition and with the start of other private contract work at the Royal Mint.

Why was the image of an elephant selected for the obverse design of the Carolina, New England, and London tokens?

Foremost today among questions surrounding the Carolina Elephant Token is why the proprietors would select an elephant to represent or draw attention to their colony? It appears to be a bizarre choice and an irrelevant symbol for an American territory where no such animal lived. Some

researchers, including this writer, have speculated that the selection of a pachyderm as a device on the token was perhaps rooted in two considerations by the lords proprietors: sheer economy and the elephant's exotic appeal, as "an eye catching novelty" in seventeenth-century England.⁵⁹ With concern to the issue of economy, the proprietors' efforts and willingness to pay for a minor correction in the token's reverse die would seem to belie suggestions that pinching pennies was the highest priority in their consideration of the token's design. Collectors today who are familiar with the Carolina Elephants know that two varieties of the token exist. The first one, the rarer variety, has the word "PROPRIETERS" in its reverse inscription. The second variety has instead the word "PROPRIETORS." This difference in spelling was made when a die cutter overpunched the final "E" in "PROPRIETERS" with an "O," leaving portions of the underlying E still visible in subsequent strikes. It is unlikely that any die cutter would make such a die change without specific instructions being relayed to him from the contractor. So, if economy were of paramount concern to the proprietors, it seems odd that in the seventeenth century, when spelling remained an elastic exercise, they would spend the money and the time to halt or delay production to make such an alteration. It appears that factors of greater concern than frugality were in play in the selection of an elephant's image for the Carolina token's obverse. Production costs are invariably an important consideration in nearly all contracts, whatever the work; research for this article suggests that the elephant was a deliberate choice made for its symbolic value, not just because it was an available, cheaper-to-use image in the Royal Mint's die inventory.

In the past, some numismatists have promulgated the theory that the obverse dies used for the Carolina Token were crafted originally for earlier tokens or medals produced for the Royal African Company or perhaps for the East India Company.⁶⁰ Assumptions that an elephant would be linked in some way to these foreign enterprises are understandable, for geographically speaking, they are the logical homes for the animal. Assumptions might also be drawn from the fact that four of Carolina's original proprietors—Anthony Ashley Cooper; William, Earl of Craven; Sir George Carteret; and Sir Peter Colleton—were listed in 1663 as members in the Royal African Company. Despite these memberships, the proprietors' early interest in the African company was centered on the slave trade and investors' expectations "that [slavery] would exist also in Carolina."⁶¹ Thirty years later, all of the original proprietors but Craven would be dead. No continuing links are evident in 1694 between old Craven and the Royal African Company, which by then was a commercial operation in steep decline and on the verge of losing its English monopoly in the slave trade.⁶²

Other proposed links between the Royal Mint dies and either Africa or India have gone so far as to foster debate over which species of elephant is depicted on the Carolina, New England, and London tokens. Does it represent the African species (*Loxodonta africana*) or the Asian species (*Elephas maximus*). The latter animal generally has the smaller ears.⁶³ Whatever the "ear" evidence, it is certain that the Royal African Company did employ an elephant as a device on its official coat of arms. Samuel Pepys confirms this in his diary. In its entry for May 23, 1663, Pepys writes of seeing new arms at Whitehall for the Royal African Company (known then as "The Company of Royal Adventurers Trading into Africa"):

... and there we saw a draught of the armes of the company, which the King is of and so is called the Royall company—which is, in a field argent a Elephant proper, with a Canton on which England and France is Quartered—Supported by two Moores; the Crest, an Anchor Winged I think it is⁶⁴

Pepys' confirmation, or any other, that the Royal African Company employed an elephant in its arms is itself insufficient proof that there was any connection between yet-to-be-uncovered pieces made for that company and the tokens that are the focus of this article. If Elephant dies had been cut for Royal African Company tokens around this time, it is remarkable, if not incredible, that in over 300 years not a single specimen of such a token has surfaced anywhere, either in Europe, Africa, or the Americas.

For the persons who selected the obverse design for the production of either the Carolina, New England, or London tokens, the choice of an elephant would not have been made due solely to its “novel” appeal. The animal was regarded as neither an unusual symbol nor viewed as particularly exotic to the English in the 1600s. It was a creature well known in the country by then. As early as 1255, the Tower of London itself was home to an elephant. In that year, Henry III added one to his royal menagerie. A gift to Henry from King Louis IX of France, that elephant was reportedly the first seen in England “since the Roman period.”⁶⁵ Although the royal menagerie was reserved for the personal enjoyment of Henry, his court, and visitors, the animal was presumably exercised and paraded on occasion outside a “specially-built elephant house” in the Tower.⁶⁶ Such public displays would have served to Henry’s advantage, for the sight of such a remarkable possession among the masses would have enhanced his prestige and inflated perceptions of his power. English manuscripts from that time also contain references to elephants and drawings of them. In the Tower of London today, among exhibits in the Lanthorn Tower, a color reproduction of a 13th-century illustration from Cambridge is displayed. It depicts an elephant on parade. Atop the creature is strapped a large wooden box in which thirteen musicians are sounding horns, pounding drums, and playing other instruments.⁶⁷



**Elephant manuscript displayed in
Tower of London**



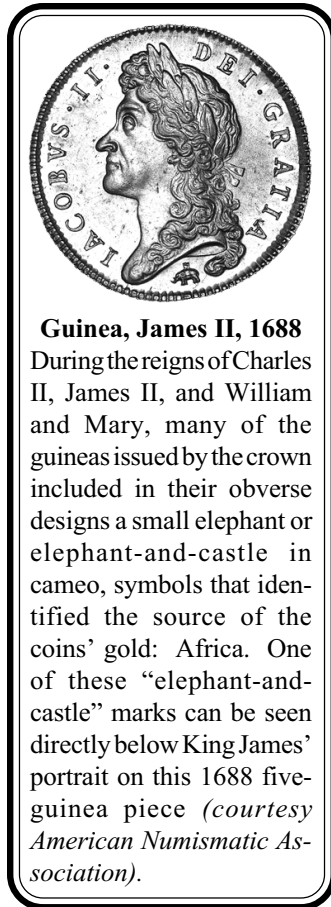
**Elephant & Castle sign
in modern London**

The elephant was a well-known animal to Englishmen and women by the seventeenth century. In fact, the Tower of London itself was home to a live elephant as early as 1255. This thirteenth-century English illustration (*top*) of an elephant on parade is displayed today in the Tower. For centuries, images of the beast were widely used in heraldry and adopted as symbols for many businesses. An entire district of modern London (*above*) still bears the name “Elephant & Castle” (*photo-graphs by author*).

In addition to being an object for public display, the elephant in medieval England and Scotland was already being applied as a heraldic device or charge on seals and coats of arms. Historically, the animal symbolized strength, courage, and endurance.⁶⁸ It also represented wealth and good fortune, attributes that are linked to the elephant’s “white gold,” its highly prized ivory. Even in medieval chess sets, the elephant with a small tower or castle on its back was a standard game piece. It recalled the use of elephants in warfare for more than a thousand years before that time. In the second and third centuries B.C., for example, the elephant with a fortified platform on its back was an early form of tank deployed by the Carthaginians against Roman armies. Further east, in India, similar enclosed seats or castellated *howdahs* were strapped to elephants for the protection of riders. At the Battle of Hydaspes in 326 B.C., Indian forces unleashed 200 such war elephants against Alexander the Great’s army.⁶⁹

By the seventeenth century, the elephant and the combined image of the animal with a castle on its back were fairly conventional symbols. They would have been readily interpreted by the general public, including theater-goers. Shakespeare in *The Twelfth Night*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Julius Caesar*, alludes to the animal and to a well-known district and tavern in south London known as “the Elephant.” The name was employed as well by other London businesses. The “Elephant and Castle,” as noted earlier, was one of the shops where Samuel Wilson’s 1682 pamphlet on Carolina was distributed. Elsewhere—in Bristol, Coventry, and in other towns in the 1600s—one could find the elephant as a symbol or term used in the titles or on

some signs for coffeehouses, inns, and shops. Anyone familiar with the layout of modern London is aware that an entire southern district of the city still bears the name "Elephant and Castle."⁷⁰

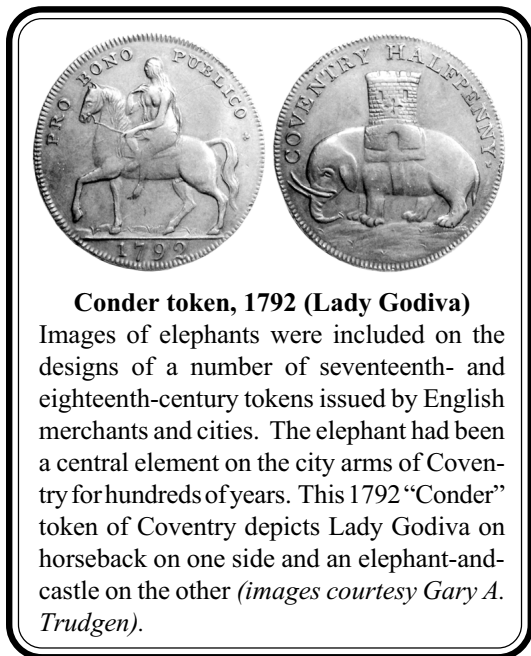


Guinea, James II, 1688

During the reigns of Charles II, James II, and William and Mary, many of the guineas issued by the crown included in their obverse designs a small elephant or elephant-and-castle in cameo, symbols that identified the source of the coins' gold: Africa. One of these "elephant-and-castle" marks can be seen directly below King James' portrait on this 1688 five-guinea piece (*courtesy American Numismatic Association*).

In addition to its use in heraldry, literature, and in business promotion, the elephant's image can be found in the designs of English coinage and trade tokens decades before 1694. Many of the royal government's gold guineas issued during the reigns of Charles II, James II, and William and Mary carry on their obverses a very small elephant or elephant-and-castle in cameo below the monarchs' portraits. These tiny elephant symbols denote the source and supplier of the gold used for these pieces, testifying that it was imported by the Royal African Company from mines along Africa's Gold Coast, mostly from Guinea (now Ghana).⁷¹ These symbols reconfirm the Royal African Company's use of the elephant and the public's identification of the animal with the company, at least on coinage. The esteemed British numismatist C. Wilson Peck extrapolates on the significance of this identification in the 1960 edition of his *English Copper, Tin and Bronze Coins in the British Museum, 1558-1958*. Peck argues that these are "fairly strong grounds" that the elephant design was produced during the reign of Charles II for the Royal African Company and theorizes or implies that the image on all the tokens signified that the copper used to produce them was drawn from mines in west Africa.⁷² Such extrapolation, at best, is over-extended. The presence of an elephant on a coin or token, in whatever form, is not clear evidence that the figure was used universally in such a way between the 1660s and 1690s. If so, precedence would hold that the elephant on the 1694 tokens would have been a small, discreet symbol like that found on guineas of the period, not a large, domineering, central element in the pieces' design. Records, in fact, show that in the latter portion of the seventeenth century, Sweden, not Africa, was the principal foreign source of coining

copper for England.⁷³ The metal used for the Elephant tokens, if not drawn from domestic mines, may very well be of Swedish origin. Even Peck expresses uncertainty in extending the African-source theory to the Carolina and New England types, commenting "The reason for the re-use of the Elephant die in 1694 for the *obvs.* of the two American pieces remains a mystery."⁷⁴ Whatever the arguments concerning the sources of copper, by the mid-1600s the elephant was clearly neither a heraldic symbol nor numismatic image that could be limited to the Royal African Company. In the 1650s and 1660s, there were businesses and towns with no apparent connections to the company that circulated tokens with elephants on them. In 1650, "elephant-and-castle" farthings were distributed from Temple Barre in London. These pieces may have been issued by Francis Smith from his shop there, the Elephant and Castle.⁷⁵ Hugh Rodd, the mayor of Hereford in Herefordshire, produced and circulated in the 1660s other farthing tokens with an elephant, as did George Bishop, a cutler in Oxford. Bishop's 1668 halfpennies feature an elephant's head and two swords. At Wallingford, in Berkshire, William Eliot also applied the elephant and castle design on the reverse of his 1669 halfpenny. Other merchants and tradesmen who issued Elephant tokens in this period were James Acrigg of London, James Taylor of Sheffield, and William Rowney, a Coventry merchant.⁷⁶ The city of Coventry as well distributed tokens with the animal's image in the late 1660s. Two halfpennies and a large farthing circulated by Coventry bear the elephant and castle which is a charge in that city's arms.⁷⁷ The elephant has long been associated with Coventry, along with the legendary figures of Saint George and Lady Godiva. In the 1790s, the city would again issue copper ("Conder") halfpennies that present an



Conder token, 1792 (Lady Godiva)

Images of elephants were included on the designs of a number of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tokens issued by English merchants and cities. The elephant had been a central element on the city arms of Coventry for hundreds of years. This 1792 "Conder" token of Coventry depicts Lady Godiva on horseback on one side and an elephant-and-castle on the other (*images courtesy Gary A. Trudgen*).

elephant and castle on one side and Godiva on the other.

With final consideration to the question as to why the contractors for the London, Carolina, or New England tokens chose an elephant for their pieces, the pachyderm's historic symbolism and high-recognition factor would have made the animal an ideal numismatic device. If thrift, on the other hand, were the overriding factor in the selection of a pre-existing die, it still seems implausible that the inventories of secondary or used dies were so limited at the Royal Mint that those who arranged the respective tokens' production would have had to accept or make do with the very same image. The repeated use of the elephant on all three types of tokens suggests that it had a widespread appeal, perhaps paralleling to a much lesser extent the generic application of an eagle on American tokens and coins. Still, if such widespread appeal were not

the reason or factor in the selection of the same image on different tokens, what other reasons may explain its repeated use? Could its use on the same tokens point to some other connections or similar purpose? Perhaps some commonality may be found in their distribution, if not their use, in the well-attended coffeehouses packed into side streets around the Royal Exchange in London. For promotional purposes at the Carolina Coffee-House, the elephant would seem an ideal subliminal messenger for the proprietors. It would embody and project a reassuring message to prospective investors and settlers, especially to those in an unsettled economy. In keeping with earlier publicity efforts at Birchin Lane by Samuel Wilson and later by Thomas Amy, the elephant would represent Carolina as a strong, worthy endeavor despite its past problems. With a new administration under Archdale in place, the colony could be presented as a sound investment that over time would realize steady, perhaps substantial returns.

How were the Carolina Elephant tokens used and distributed?

Before turning this article's attention to early collectors and reproductions of Carolina Elephants, the questions posed about the tokens' possible use and distribution should be explored a bit further. No documentation has been found that reveals the lords proprietors' intentions or knowledge about the creation of the Carolina Token itself yet circumstances surrounding the proprietary colony's promotion near the Royal Exchange and the tight investors' market in London in the early 1690s imply reasons. Among numismatists who have researched the Elephant tokens, speculation abounds as to how the pieces were used. Were they medals? The weight of the planchets used on these pieces have neither the heft nor form one would expect to find for medals or commemorative pieces. In the case of the Carolina colony, the appointment of Governor Archdale in 1694 was a notable development, but that event was not so significant that it would warrant such a commemorative piece.

Were the Elephant tokens instead used as media of exchange, as currency? This question remains highly debatable as well. The royal ban on merchant tokens since the early 1670s explains the absence of any assigned value on the 1694 Elephant tokens.⁷⁸ If, on the other hand, one were to accept the argument that the undated London tokens were produced in the mid-1660s,

why then would those copper specimens lack a denomination if, before the crown's restrictions, they were used to transact business for the Royal African Company or for some other London-based enterprise? Nevertheless, it appears that the London varieties and other Elephant tokens did circulate. They certainly were not tucked away in cabinets or stored in trunks as pristine keepsakes. Heavy wear on some surviving Elephant tokens indicates this. Circulation also indicates purpose. However, if the tokens were generally accepted, it would follow that they would possess a consistent or near-consistent weight. Wide variances in the thickness and weight (132 to 249 grains) of the tokens' planchets are not indicative of pieces intended for widespread distribution as halfpennies, whether in England or as displaced pieces found later in America. While the official standard for English copper halfpennies was revised from time to time, governmental contracts in 1694 set the standard at 166.7 grains.⁷⁹

Apparently, even in 1769 Thomas Snelling had personal doubts about the tokens being used as coinage. His observations, as described earlier, led future numismatists to speculate in all directions about the tokens' true purpose. In part five of his *On Coins of Great Britain*, under "Pattern Pieces," Snelling does not mention the New England tokens, but he ponders the reasons why the Carolina and London pieces were struck:

We cannot ourselves conceive the intent of striking [the Carolina Token], or for what purpose it was intended; however, we think it has no claim to be admitted as a piece of money, but rather is of the ticket kind, and we are of the same opinion in regard to another piece, which is certainly of the same class with this; be it what it will, it is what we call the London halfpenny, one side of both, that is the elephant, we apprehend was struck from the same die, which is still remaining in the Tower, and appears to be the work of Roettier . . . we have heard two or three opinions concerning the intent of uttering this piece, as that it was for the London Workhouse; also, that its inscription alludes to the plague, and it was struck whilst it raged in London; and we have likewise heard that it was intended to be made current at Tangier in Africa but never took place.⁸⁰

With consideration to these various opinions, what common business or promotional activities might link the London, New England, and Carolina tokens? The answer may be connected to coffeehouses or to the "Workhouse" to which Spelling alludes.

In past examinations of the Carolina tokens' history, no attention has been paid to the Carolina Coffee-House on Birchin Lane and to the extreme popularity and commercial influence of coffeehouses in England in the latter half of the seventeenth century and in subsequent decades. Before tea became identified as the England's national beverage, coffee was the public's preferred brew. The drink was not only fashionable in the late 1600s, it was then a required libation for anyone in London seeking current news and important connections, whether political, social, or economic in nature. Around 1652, a Turkish merchant opened the city's first coffeehouse in St. Michael's Alley in the Cornhill District. The Carolina Coffee-House by the 1680s and 1690s was among scores of like establishments strategically situated around the Royal Exchange, which fronted Cornhill's main thoroughfare. Opened more than a century earlier, during the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Exchange would remain the nation's epicenter of commercial activity. Its importance was demonstrated by the fact that the facility was among the first structures to be rebuilt after London's catastrophic fire in 1666.⁸¹ It was there where bankers, investors, attorneys, merchants, brokers, ship captains, and adventurers mixed and convened to discuss contracts, settle accounts, and transact all manners of business.⁸² Another indication as to the importance of this area in London is that it is the district in which the Bank of England opened in 1694. Nearby coffeehouses served to complement and support many of the business relationships forged initially in the Exchange.

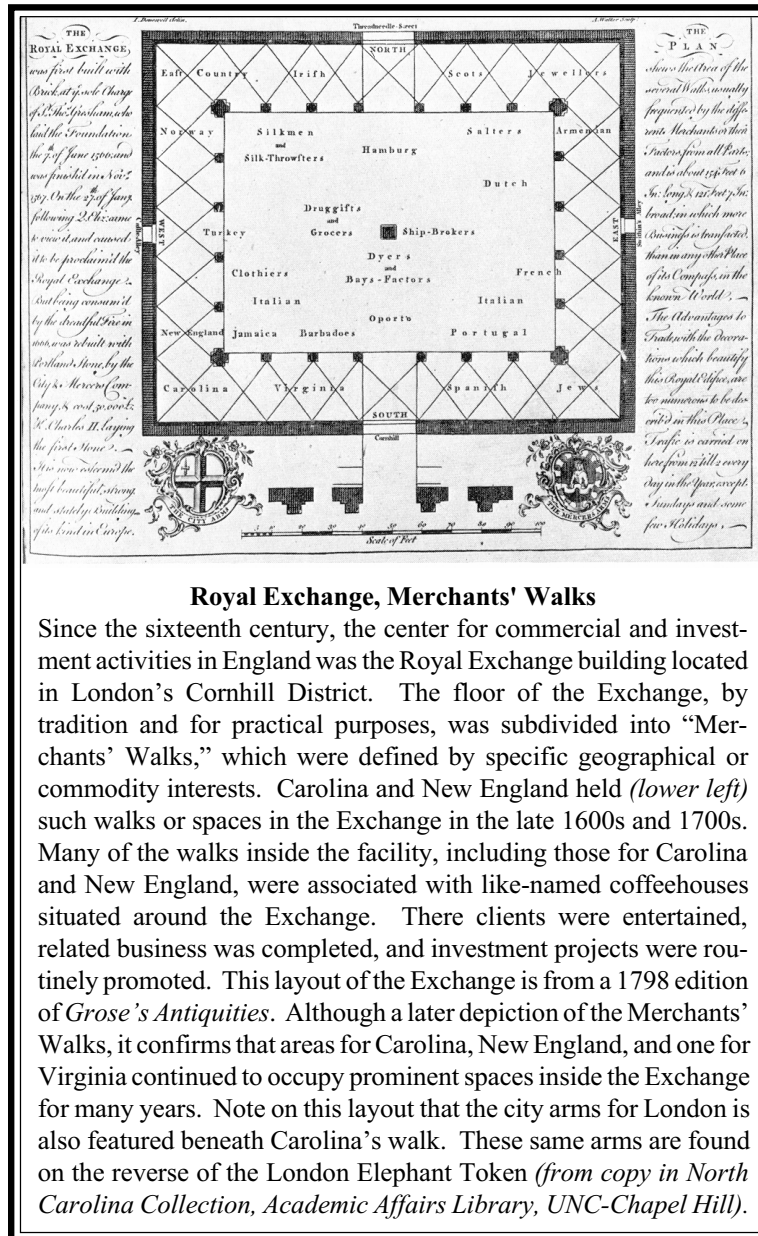
Coffeehouses were not limited to this area of London; they were everywhere in city in the late 1600s and 1700s. As social-business centers, they could be found throughout England, but it was in London and Bristol where they were concentrated in the greatest number.⁸³ If a London investor or prospective colonist were interested in obtaining or exchanging information about settlement, trade, or investment in Carolina, he could go to the Carolina Coffee-House; if in Virginia, to the Virginia Coffee-House; if Africa, to the African Coffee-House; or to other related establishments around the Exchange. There entrepreneurs or their representatives could pick up their mail, entertain, treat new partners to coffee or a meal, or, being away from the crowds and clatter of the Exchange, expound at leisure on investment opportunities to potential clients. Disaster, unfortunately, would later sweep this area of London. Although not on the scale of the 1666 conflagration, flames in March 1748 razed scores of coffeehouses and other shops in and around Cornhill, including the Carolina Coffee-House on Birchin Lane. The Carolina would be rebuilt there and continue operating under the same name to at least 1838.⁸⁴ By that time, however, the establishment's service as a center for publicizing colonization and investment in "Carolina" had long since passed.

Prior to the 1748 fire, records of many Cornhill-area coffeehouses remain sketchy. The Carolina Coffee-House affords one example of these incomplete histories. In his voluminous 1963 reference on London coffeehouses, English historian Bryant Lillywhite cites that "no contemporary mention of the [Carolina] house is yet forth-coming prior to the Cornhill fire; although obviously it was in existence earlier."⁸⁵ Yes, it was, as is documented through Samuel Wilson and Thomas Amy's work at Birchin Lane for Carolina's proprietors. While no direct connection can be made to the use of the Elephant tokens at the Carolina Coffee-House, it is noteworthy that there were on Threadneedle Street behind the Royal Exchange a "New England Coffee-House" and a "London Coffee-House."⁸⁶ Histories of both these houses are also unclear prior to the 1748 fire, but it is quite probable that they were also operating in the 1680s and 1690s, just as the Carolina Coffee-House did. Whatever the exact purpose of the Elephant tokens' manufacture, some of these pieces may have rung on tabletops in these establishments. It is quite probable as well that some were seen at one time or another in the "Merchants' Walks" of the Royal Exchange.⁸⁷

The "walks" in the Exchange were designated areas on the floor of the facility where crowds of businessmen mingled to discuss and conduct the affairs of various enterprises. These areas in the Exchange were often associated with the nearby, related coffeehouses. Traditionally, the Exchange's perimeter arcades and central open court were composed of sections that were defined by occupation ("Clothiers," "Silkmen," "Druggists," or "Salters") or divided geographically into commercial interests (French, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Italy, Turkey, and others). Shown on one early floorplan of the Exchange, tucked into the southwest corner of the box-shaped facility, is an area specifically designated "New England."⁸⁸ Adjacent to it is another area or so-called walk labeled "Carolina." It was there, no doubt, where the lords proprietors, Wilson, and Amy would have gathered. If some of Carolina's tokens were also distributed at the Exchange, they would have presumably been released from this location.

Aside from speculation as to *where* the Elephant tokens may have been distributed, what function did they serve? As discussed earlier in this article, prior to the royal ban on merchant tokens in 1672, farthings, halfpennies, and pennies were circulated by English shopkeepers, grocers, inns, and by other tradesmen. Proprietors of coffeehouses were no exception. In Lillywhite's reference, he describes the prevalence and basic design of coffeehouse tokens:

The Tokens issued by the proprietors of coffee-houses in London between 1652 and 1672, so far recorded number less than one hundred. Although some bear the wording "coffee house", other coffee-house Tokens are identified by a coffee-pot, or by a hand pouring into cups from a pot. The number of Tokens in use throughout the country by all types of traders, is prodigious.⁸⁹



Royal Exchange, Merchants' Walks

Since the sixteenth century, the center for commercial and investment activities in England was the Royal Exchange building located in London's Cornhill District. The floor of the Exchange, by tradition and for practical purposes, was subdivided into "Merchants' Walks," which were defined by specific geographical or commodity interests. Carolina and New England held (lower left) such walks or spaces in the Exchange in the late 1600s and 1700s. Many of the walks inside the facility, including those for Carolina and New England, were associated with like-named coffeehouses situated around the Exchange. There clients were entertained, related business was completed, and investment projects were routinely promoted. This layout of the Exchange is from a 1798 edition of *Grose's Antiquities*. Although a later depiction of the Merchants' Walks, it confirms that areas for Carolina, New England, and one for Virginia continued to occupy prominent spaces inside the Exchange for many years. Note on this layout that the city arms for London is also featured beneath Carolina's walk. These same arms are found on the reverse of the London Elephant Token (from copy in North Carolina Collection, Academic Affairs Library, UNC-Chapel Hill).

Modern collectors who are familiar with the English tokens described by Lillywhite know that these pieces are quite different from the later Elephant tokens. Images on these merchant tokens generally lack the sophistication in design represented by the Carolina, New England, and London Elephants. Seventeenth-century merchant tokens are also much thinner, often irregularly shaped, and smaller, usually measuring twenty millimeters or less in diameter.⁹⁰

If the Elephant tokens were not struck for the purpose of being, as Snelling doubted, "a piece of money," what other applications may they have had? Snelling remarks in 1769 of their being "of the ticket kind."⁹¹ "Ticket" is interpreted in this context as a token. However, what kind of token? In the case of the Carolina Token, was it issued as a premium to be redeemed at the coffeehouse on Birchin Lane? Did it perhaps serve, as numismatist Michael Hodder has suggested, as a lottery token? Or was it a promotional token "struck as an

advertising stunt to enliven interest in the Carolina Plantation?"⁹² It seems unlikely that pieces as elaborate as the Elephant tokens would be manufactured only for passing from one hand or pocket to another with no other aim in mind than advertising. Such passive promotion might have marginal benefits, but it seems more credible that the piece had a higher-profile application and possessed some tangible benefit for its holder. Lottery offices and "tickets" for lottery drawings of real estate, cash prizes, and books appear to have been commonplace in coffeehouses around the Exchange. Lotteries were being held in coffeehouses as early as 1672.⁹³ Apparently, too, there were on occasion grand, joint lotteries sponsored by multiple businesses. Of special interest, though much later, is a public notice in London's *Daily Post* newspaper for October 3, 1721. It states, "At the New England Coffee House behind the Royal Exchange is kept an exact Numerical Book where all persons may know the prizes in the present State Lottery every hour gratis."⁹⁴ As interpreted within the context of most notices about coffeehouse lotteries listed in Lillywhite's reference, the

“tickets” mentioned were more likely paper, not metal. Yet, even if “ticket” is interpreted as a token by Snelling’s definition, it still seems improbable that a metallic item of this quality would be used simply for a lottery drawing. It seems more reasonable that such a substantial piece may have been circulated by someone like Thomas Amy to attract investors and, in the case of Carolina, potential colonists to Birchin Lane. Perhaps there Amy would redeem the tokens for free publications, food and drink, or provide some other premium to the holder.

Although no London-based company store or “Workhouse” has been affiliated with the lords proprietors and their Carolina venture, there may be one other possibility for the tokens’ use. In Samuel Wilson’s 1682 pamphlet, *An Account of the Province of Carolina*, the proprietors’ secretary recommends to prospective colonists that they take certain supplies and equipment with them to America. He lists hoes, whip-saws, nails, and other hardware and tools. Wilson also lists for colonists “The Merchandizes which sell best in Carolina,” such as “Thread Sowing Silk, Buttons, Ribbons, Hats, Stockings, Shoes, &c.”⁹⁵ Perhaps later, in 1694, in their effort to increase Carolina’s population, could such special tokens have been used to enlist settlers with discounts or for trade on such goods prior to their departure? This proposed use of the Carolina tokens and the lottery “ticket” notion remain purely guesswork, but there are enough connections in this period to coffeehouses and the commercial activities around the Royal Exchange to warrant more indepth study on these possibilities. With that research gauntlet cast, let us now turn our attention to the acquisition and study of Elephant tokens by modern collectors.

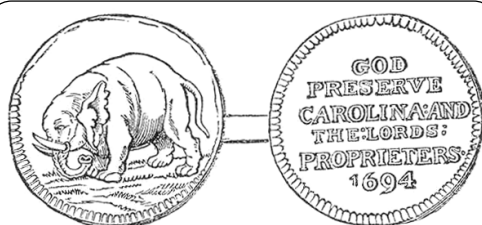
When did Elephant tokens become topics of wider interest to American numismatists?

David Gladfelter mentions in his 1995 *CNL* article that the first published record of an Elephant token’s existence dates to more than a half century before Thomas Snelling reported seeing an Elephant die in the Tower. In London, in 1713, Ralph Thoresby’s *Museum Thoresbyanum* mentions the most common type of Elephant Token, the London type, referring to it as “the ‘African halfpenny.’”⁹⁶ Years later in England, around 1720, the first record of the Carolina Token as part of the Earl of Pembroke’s collection surfaces. That reference relates to the second variety of the Carolina piece, the one with the O/E correction.⁹⁷ Among British numismatists, Elephant tokens remained a topic of only passing interest in succeeding decades, with virtually nothing in that time being added to the pieces’ documentation.

In the United States, increased public interest in Elephant tokens began to manifest itself in the late 1850s. It was an interest that paralleled a noticeable rise in the popularity of coin collecting as a pastime in this country. At this time numismatics began to find more middleclass homes and emerge from the mahogany-paneled libraries of the well-to-do. The year 1858 was especially significant with respect to the American public’s awareness of the Elephant tokens’ existence. In three very different publications, descriptions and illustrations of the tokens were shared not only with historians and collectors but with a much wider audience. John H. Hickcox cites the tokens in a numismatic reference released that year in Albany, New York, *An Historical Account of American Coinage*.⁹⁸ Farther south in 1858, a Carolina Token is illustrated for the first time in a general history. That year E. J. Hale & Son of Fayetteville, North Carolina, published volume two of Dr. Francis Lister Hawks’ *History of North Carolina*.⁹⁹ This volume includes hand-drawn images of the token’s obverse and reverse. Text accompanying these illustrations addresses an issue that is debated to this day. Should the Carolina piece really be classified as a token or instead as a medal? In Dr. Hawks’ brief commentary, the word token never arises. In his time and before, the Carolina Token was being incorrectly categorized by many authorities as a coin. Hawks, however, leans toward defining them as medals:

Our researches have brought to our notice the existence, during the proprietary government, of a something which we know not whether to class as a coin or a medal merely—though we think it was the latter. The only American publication in which it has been noticed is one of our popular magazines. It is, however, to be found in English publications.

The only remark which accompanies it is the following: —‘In the year 1694, a copper piece was struck, it is said by Rotiers [*sic*], a celebrated medallist of that day, for circulation in the Carolinas. It bears the figure of an elephant on one side, and on the other, the inscription, “God preserve Carolina, and the Lords Proprietors, 1694.” As, however, it may have had a moneyed value as coin, we have here preserved it.’¹⁰⁰



**Pen-and-ink drawing of Carolina Token
in Hawks' history**

In 1858, the Carolina Elephant Token was illustrated for the first time in the United States in a general history and in a popular magazine. This image of the first variety of the token is included on page 288 of Dr. Francis Hawks' *History of North Carolina*. The same image is used in a brief article published earlier in June 1858, in *Frank Leslie's New Family Magazine*. The most noticeable characteristic found on both illustrations is in the token's reverse legend. The "1" in "1694" is broken and missing its lower half (from first edition in the *North Carolina Collection, Academic Affairs Library, UNC-Chapel Hill*).

The overall quality of Hawk's history represents the efforts of a precise scholar who possessed a keen eye for detail. Yet, he shows no precision in quoting the token's inscription as illustrated. His book's images portray the first variety of the Carolina Token, the one with "PROPRIETORS" clearly depicted. It is evident from Hawks' text that he had never seen a real specimen. He alludes to the tokens being struck "for circulation in the Carolinas," but he offers no supporting documentation that a token of this type had been accepted as money by any colonists or had ever been found in circulation in North Carolina, the South, or elsewhere in America. Hawks merely relays unsubstantiated opinions from earlier English sources. These continued to perpetuate the notion that the tokens, as struck, were intended to be colonial coinage or a form of money with the implied, if not assigned, value of a halfpenny.

Dr. Hawks' remark about "one of our popular magazines" relates to the third publication that treats the Elephant tokens in 1858. It is cited as the June issue of *Frank Leslie's New Family Magazine*. The space and ink devoted to the tokens in this periodical are the most significant,

for it is the first time in America that the Carolina and New England Elephant tokens are mentioned and illustrated in a magazine that was part of this nation's expanding mass media. The large, two-page article in *Frank Leslie's* is entitled "A Chapter On Old American Coins."¹⁰¹ Its author, identified only as "A Collector," begins by observing the growing popularity of numismatics and that "the subject of coins is beginning to attract considerable attention in this country."¹⁰² He then proceeds to provide a primer on classifying and collecting some early American coins, highlighting in the process eight specimens. He illustrates a Sommer Islands "twelvepenny" and "sixpenny"; a 1652 Massachusetts pine tree shilling; a Maryland shilling, sixpence, and groat; a rare 1733 pattern piece for a Rosa Americana twopence; and the Carolina Elephant "coin." The image of the Carolina piece is identical to the one found in Hawks' *History of North Carolina*. Since Hawks cites this magazine in his book, it is clear this is the source from which he obtained his illustration. The "Collector" in *Frank Leslie's* describes very briefly the Carolina and New England types and concludes with the remark, "These are both very rare, the [New England] variety extremely so."¹⁰³ Although this 1858 collector does not mention that there are two varieties of the Carolina Token,

his statement documents that even the Carolina Token was deemed rare in his day, nearly a century and a half ago.

What types of reproductions of the Carolina Elephant tokens exist?

The early marketing of reproduction coinage, tokens, and medals in the United States was another indicator in the mid-nineteenth century that numismatics was beginning to thrive as a hobby in the general population. Increasingly, metalworkers produced and sold copies of rare coins and tokens as keepsakes, as inexpensive display pieces for museums, or as fillers for gaps in hobbyists' collections. These early copies of Elephant tokens are of varying quality. Many are obvious facsimiles. There are a few, however, that have been and are still mistaken as genuine by inexperienced numismatists and at times by veteran collectors. There are struck copies, cast specimens, electrotypes, and commemorative pieces that incorporate the elephant design and inscriptions from the originals. Examples of these reproductions can be found today in collections at the Smithsonian Institution, the American Numismatic Society in New York, in special-collection libraries at the University of Notre Dame and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and in other repositories.



Robinson New England copy



Bolen Carolina copy

During the 1860s in the United States, Alfred Robinson in Connecticut and John Adams Bolen in Massachusetts began striking copies of rare, collectible coins and tokens, including Elephant tokens. The New England copy shown here is attributed to Robinson, who apparently did not reproduce any Carolina tokens. Bolen, on the other hand, struck at least 59 copies of the Carolina "cent" in silver, copper, and brass. The heavily worn Bolen copy of the "OR" variety shown here (*right*) is in the collection of the American Numismatic Association (accession number 7803-0031), which currently has no other examples of Elephant tokens, either genuine or reproduction. The wear on this Bolen product certainly enhances its appearance as old, so much so that it could be mistaken by an inexperienced collector as authentic (*images courtesy of the American Numismatic Association and Early American History Auctions, Inc.*).

The diversity of nineteenth- and twentieth-century reproductions found in this study warrants a small catalogue. Space considerations here prohibit a specimen-by-specimen analysis of each type found. An overview of early reproductions and more recent copies should prove helpful to future researchers in identifying some replicas that periodically are bought and sold by private collectors and public institutions. The makers of some Elephant Token copies remain undetermined. Others are well documented. Among known early makers of Elephant tokens in the United States is Alfred S. Robinson of Hartford, Connecticut. Around 1861, Robinson produced four dozen copies of Elephant tokens in an assortment of metals, using dies cut by Joseph H. Merriam of Boston.¹⁰⁴ All, however, were the New England type. There is no record that Robinson copied Carolina varieties. In Springfield, Massachusetts, at the urging of local collectors, die-sinker John Adams Bolen also began to cut and strike in 1862 facsimiles of "rare" American colonial and early

Federal coins and tokens.¹⁰⁵ Bolen over the years reproduced the 1785 Bar copper, the Samuel Higley and George Clinton coppers, Carolina Elephants, and other pieces. This series of copies proved to be a disappointment financially to Bolen. It is said that he was disappointed, too, that dishonest folks were misrepresenting and selling his pieces as genuine. To combat this, Bolen reportedly marked many of his later replicas with a secret “dot” in their design.¹⁰⁶ Forty-three of the Springfield craftsman’s products can be found in a small catalog compiled and published in 1882 by Edwin L. Johnson and entitled *J. A. Bolen’s Medals, Cards, and Fac-similes*.¹⁰⁷ Listings 36 and 37 in this imprint record that Bolen in 1869 cut three dies—one obverse and two reverses—for a pair of Carolina reproductions. These dies were used to strike a “Fac-simile Carolina Elephant Cent” and a mule, a “Double Carolina Elephant.” The Springfield artisan produced a total of fifty-nine pieces. For the Carolina “cent” he struck only two in silver, forty in copper, and five in brass. Edwin Johnson quotes Bolen’s own observations about this work:

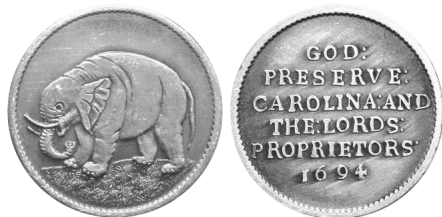
The reverse of No. 37 was originally cut for the obverse of No. 36; but as it was not correct, I cut another. After striking the 47 pieces of No. 36, I struck two mules in copper for the two obverse dies, and then annealed the incorrect die, lettered it “Only ten struck,” and struck the ten copies of No. 37; making twelve in all with the elephant on both sides.¹⁰⁸

After completing these facsimiles, Bolen canceled or “destroyed” (defaced) these dies. He then presented them to the Numismatic Society of Boston.¹⁰⁹

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, makers of numismatic reproductions generally employed either one of three techniques in fabricating their products. They struck their copies, like Robinson and Bolen; used traditional casting methods; or employed the newest technique, electrotyping. A process discovered in 1839, electrotyping relies on electric current to attract and bond metallic particles or salts to a treated surface. It would be nearly twenty-five years before this new process was practically and widely applied. R. Hoe and Company of New York is credited with being the first firm “to market various machines used in electrotyping” around 1865, with the replication of printing plates among the earliest industrial applications of the process.¹¹⁰

Later, in the final decades of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, it became apparent to electrotypists that coins, tokens, and medals formed an ideal commercial niche for their work. Elephant tokens were among the wide range of numismatic specimens copied by this method. For readers who are unfamiliar with electrotyped copies or “electros,” they are made by electroplating a thin shell of copper or other metal onto separate impressions or molds of a genuine token’s obverse and reverse. The metal shells are removed from their molds, backfilled with another metal, usually lead, and then the two pieces are fused together. The joining of these halves produces a full copy of the original. This joining, however, also leaves a seam at the electrotype’s edge. Not surprisingly, unscrupulous manufacturers, dealers, and collectors have often in the past taken measures to file and obscure this seam.

Compared to other forms of reproduction, especially casting, electrotyping can produce a superior copy with high definition and surface continuity. Later in this article, one example of a Carolina electrotype will be examined at some length. Castings of Elephant tokens exist, but they lack the sharpness of electrotypes. Under magnification, cast replicas invariably exhibit significant surface pitting, which is attributable to the formation and eruption of minute air bubbles in the molten metal as it hardens. Some electrotypes of the second variety of the Carolina Token capture quite convincingly subtle details in the aforementioned O/E correction. More advanced techniques have been developed in solid-cast reproduction. Centrifugal casting is capable of producing sharper copies by eliminating air-bubbles in the molding process.



Carolina copy, Capitol Medals



Charleston medal, 1970



Carolina copy, The Morgan Mint

In the past several decades, reproductions of Carolina Elephant tokens and medals based on their design entered the collectors' market, joining the ranks of earlier struck copies, cast facsimiles, and electrotypes. Depicted here are some examples of these modern pieces. In the 1960s and 1970s, Capitol Medals of High Point, North Carolina, reproduced second-variety "OR" specimens (*top*) that are nearly identical in diameter to genuine Carolina tokens. In 1970, as part of the City of Charleston's 300th-anniversary celebration, silver "South Carolina elephant" commemorative medals were issued (*middle*). The Morgan Mint marketed in the early 1990s oversized replicas of the first-variety "ER" tokens. Unlike the earlier pieces produced by Capitol Medals, these have "COPY" impressed on their reverse at 6:00 (*specimens in the North Carolina Collection, Academic Affairs Library, UNC-Chapel Hill*).

In spite of the high quality of some electrotypes, there are ways other than the detection of seams to distinguish them from originals. Weighing is an obvious means, but in the case of Elephant tokens, the wide variance of their planchet weights makes this, by itself, an inconclusive test for collectors. Another traditional, more subjective way of detecting electrotypes is a "ring" test. The sounding or resonance of metals has commonly been employed in the past by numismatists to uncover doctored electrotypes. To the trained ear, an electrotyle, when gently tapped, does not have the same tone or ring in the same way as its genuine counterpart. The electrotyle, with its sandwiched layering and backfilled, bimetal composition, emits a distinctively duller or flatter sound.

In the past forty years, some additional reproductions of Carolina Elephant tokens have been manufactured and have been mistaken as authentic by inexperienced collectors. Capitol Medals, Inc., in High Point, North Carolina, struck 27mm-wide copies (very near the diameter range of most genuine tokens: 28-29mm) in the 1960s and early 1970s. Most of these, with weights varying between approximately 178 to 190 grains, were sold as souvenirs to visitors at the North Carolina Museum of History and at other museum and historic site sales shops in the region. Some of Capitol Medals' reproductions were issued as bright, anodized-copper mementos, although earlier copies struck in the 1960s have a darker, aged appearance. None has "COPY" impressed on either its obverse or reverse.¹¹¹ In 1970, Charleston, South Carolina, issued silver, 34mm el-

ephant medals to mark the 300th anniversary of that city's founding. The obverse of this commemorative features an elephant whose form and positioning are based on the 1694 tokens. Compared to the appearance of the animal on original tokens, one glaring difference on the 1970 Charleston medal is that the elephant's ear is exceedingly plain, having no detail whatsoever. The earlier replicas by Capitol Medals have an elephant that is a better representation of the original

Carolina Token's design. Both the Capitol Medals copies and the Charleston medal have reverses with no beading at their rims. Both do carry the standard "GOD PRESERVE . . ." inscription for second-variety (O/E) Carolinas.¹¹²

Yet another modern Carolina reproduction is one that was offered repeatedly on the on-line auction site "eBay" in 2002. Distributed originally by The Morgan Mint of Hicksville, New York, this item has been marketed by Collectors Fantasy, Inc., in Brooklyn. It is a heavy (424 grains), oversized (39 mm), poorly rendered version of the first-variety "ER" token. Sold in a circular plastic case, the copy is presented as part of a "Birth of Our Nation" numismatic series of souvenirs. The "South Carolina" profile card that accompanies this reproduction includes the following commentary:

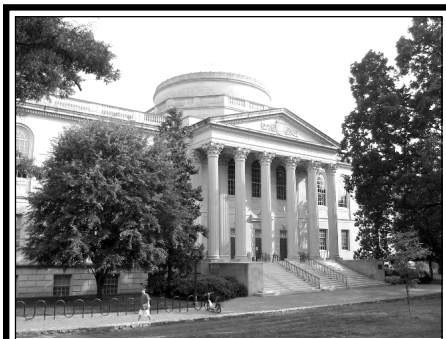
The famous Carolina Elephant Tokens were struck in England by the Royal African Company—whose symbol was the African elephant. The Royal African Company supplied the metal for the original tokens, and the reference to "Carolina" on the reverse may have been intended to create interest among investors to the Carolina plantations.¹¹³

Also accompanying the token is a certificate of authenticity assuring the collector that he or she owns "a precise replica of the original currency used by our nation's forefathers."¹¹⁴ The small certificate includes The Morgan Mint's logo and a printed signature by Arthur Blumenthal, who was director of that company until 1997.¹¹⁵

Today, The Morgan Mint's staff reports that they know nothing about this reproduction's manufacture and that the token is no longer part of their company's product line.¹¹⁶ On the obverse of this piece, the elephant is a bloated specimen with portions of its tusks, trunk, and left-rear foot extending appreciably beyond the token's lower rim. On the replica's reverse, the inscription is decidedly flat, irregular, and malformed. Faint traces of beading line part of its upper rim. Near the lower rim at 6:00—in keeping with regulations specified under the United States government's Hobby Protection Act of 1973—the word "COPY" is boxed and impressed.¹¹⁷ Thankfully, even if some dishonest soul were to obliterate this identifying mark and misrepresent the reproduction as genuine, the quality of the piece is so poor that collectors who possess only scant knowledge about Elephant tokens would detect it immediately as bogus.

Is there a replica of the Carolina Elephant Token about which collectors should be particularly aware?

In February 2001 a reproduction of the Carolina Elephant Token came to this writer's attention that at first glance appeared authentic. It is a copy of disturbingly high quality and has been misidentified by both collector and curator as genuine in recent years. Duplicates of it have been found in other collections and illustrated in price catalogs and other numismatic references. An example of this well-crafted reproduction is now among the holdings of the North Carolina Collection (NCC) at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A department of the university's Academic Affairs Library, the NCC is predominantly a collection of literature, which includes hundreds of thousands of books, pamphlets, newspapers, and other imprints relating to North Carolina's history, resources, and geography. The department also maintains and exhibits selections from its extensive photographic archives and special holdings of "museum" objects. The latter comprises 17,000 items, half of which are numismatic specimens. These include North Carolina colonial bills, rare early nineteenth-century state treasury notes, a 24-coin set of Bechtler gold coins, thousands of Confederate and state notes from the Civil War, Depression scrip, a small collection of classical coinage, and numerous examples of twentieth-century foreign currencies and common United States issues.



In 1942, the library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill formally established its numismatic collection. Today those holdings number over 8,500 pieces and are maintained by the North Carolina Collection (NCC) in Louis Round Wilson Library (*above*). North Carolina colonial bills, early nineteenth-century North Carolina treasury notes, Confederate currencies, and Bechtler gold coins are considered the strongest subgroups of this collection. While the University Library's collection contains reproductions of 1694 Carolina Elephant tokens, it still does not possess a single genuine specimen. One of the NCC's many numismatic goals is to obtain examples of both the "ER" and "OR" varieties, as well as nineteenth-century copies made by John Adams Bolen (*photograph by author*).

Academic interest in numismatics goes back over two centuries at the University of North Carolina, to the year the school opened in 1795. Charles Wilson Harris was then one of two people who comprised the university's entire faculty. In addition to teaching, Harris was appointed by the board of trustees in 1795 to serve as the first official "keeper of the museum" on the tiny campus. As keeper he began to accumulate nature specimens and historic artifacts or "curios" for study and display. Among the items initially acquired by Harris were "coins and paper money of all descriptions," including copper Roman coinage.¹¹⁸ The fate of these early specimens at the university remains unknown. Over succeeding generations, the museum's collection was not maintained and faculty interest in numismatics was not sustained. Much later, by the 1940s, the University of North Carolina had amassed enough additional Confederate and other "antique" currencies that the library decided to establish formally a numismatic collection in Chapel Hill.¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, the library still does not have a single genuine Carolina Elephant Token in its holdings.

The North Carolina Collection today does hold five reproductions of the Carolina Token for the university, along with one smoothly worn copper piece, a 28-mm-wide, 86.4-grain relic that was incorrectly identified in the past as the remains of an original. Numerals barely visible on this slug could be interpreted as "1694," but their size and positioning along the bottom edge of the

specimen make it obvious to anyone familiar with Elephant tokens that this is not one.¹²⁰ Four of the NCC's five reproductions are easy-to-spot copies for experienced collectors. Two of these are the previously described replicas by Capitol Medals, and two are the oversized, grainy copies sold through Collectors Fantasy. In the NCC, there is also one of the 1970 Charleston medals, which weighs 189.6 grains. Incredibly, in 2002, when the author tried to acquire this inexpensive medal for the NCC, an enthusiastic but poorly informed competitor outbid him on eBay. The 1970 medal was clearly reported and illustrated on the auction site; nevertheless, the competitor bid on it under the misapprehension that it was an original seventeenth-century specimen. Once this person realized and admitted this gross error, the seller allowed him to withdraw his bid. The medal was then acquired for the NCC.¹²¹

The fifth Carolina Elephant replica in the NCC is the one so well crafted that it has fooled collector and curator alike. A gift from Bryan Chappell, a local collector, the token is a detailed replica of the second-variety Carolina Elephant, even possessing the subtle portions of the underlying "E" within the overstruck "O" in "PROPRIETORS." When first acquired by the NCC, the author was quite excited by the possibility that this might, just might, be an original. The specimen looked quite good. On closer inspection of its edge, however, it became evident that the token was an electrotpe. Under magnification, faint traces of seam lines were detected, although someone had carefully burnished the specimen's edge in the past. In addition, a cluster of three parallel lines at 5:00 and other imperfections in the token's field proved to be identical to those found on Carolina Elephant electrotypes held by the Smithsonian Institution. The maker of the Smithsonian's electrotypes and the one donated to the NCC is yet to be identified. It is believed that they are products of the late nineteenth century.¹²²



Carolina electrotpe, NCC specimen



Carolina electrotpe, Notre Dame specimen

The diagnostics of these specimens at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (*above*) and at the University of Notre Dame are identical. Faint seam lines on the tokens' edges reveal them to be electrotypes, believed to date from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Expertly crafted, they even possess the subtle characteristic of the second variety of Carolina Elephant tokens, most notably the traces of an "E" beneath the second "O" in "PROPRIETORS" (*courtesy Special Collections, Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame; North Carolina Collection, Academic Affairs Library, UNC-Chapel Hill*).

The NCC's acquisition of its Carolina electrotpe led quickly to uncovering another electrotpe, an identical one located in the Robert H. Gore Collection at the University of Notre Dame Library. Until 2001, the Gore specimen had been identified for decades as genuine. That token carries the same telltale markings at 5:00. It also has the same diameter as the Chappell specimen, the same shallow, nearly obliterated "S" in the word "PRESERVE," and the very same "die" orientation, with its beading on the rim dropping off in the upper half of its surface from 9:00 to 3:00. It should be qualified here that the term "die" is being used as a general description of appearance and not one of process. Electrotypes, as outlined before, are not struck. Listed at 217.1 grains, the Gore specimen is somewhat heavier than the NCC's electrotpe, which weighs 193.2 grains. Both copies, however, exceed the weight range of all known O/E Carolinas. Documented weights for originals generally hover at a maximum of 158 grains.¹²³ After obtaining information on the NCC's electrotpe, Notre Dame staff re-examined the Gore token and re-classified it in May 2001 as a reproduction.¹²⁴

It is interesting to note that the 2001 edition of *A Guide Book of United States Coins* replaced a Carolina Elephant Token illustration in their 2000 edition. On page twenty-six of that edition, the reverse of a second variety O/E token is featured. The lack of clarity in that black-and-white image does not afford great detail. It does, however, show the token as having the same overall appearance

as the electrotypes at Notre Dame, the Smithsonian, and the one in the NCC. The form of the reverse's beaded rim and obliterated "S" make the authenticity of the featured specimen suspect.¹²⁵ The subsequent guide, the 2001 edition, offered in its stead a color illustration of an entirely different 1694 reverse. The decision to make this replacement was probably a matter of simple design, not a consideration of content. Actually, the illustration in the aforementioned 2000 price-guide may be an image of a genuine Elephant Token that was auctioned in 1980, a token that may also be connected to the electrotypes in question.¹²⁶

The high-quality Carolina electrotpe donated to the NCC by Bryan Chappell has proven to be a most welcome addition to the department's growing numismatic collection. It prompted this writer to begin delving more deeply into the Elephant tokens' history. For that reason, the copy should be credited with initiating this article. It also illustrates the usefulness of reproductions, especially one as beautifully rendered as this electrotpe, in analyzing the diagnostics of specimens whose authenticity is questioned. The existence of this Carolina Elephant electrotpe and its misidentification as genuine have underscored, too, that even experienced collectors need to remain vigilant. Whether relying on standard price guides, catalogs, or information from well-established collections, they need to keep inoculating all their related research with healthy doses of suspicion.

How rare are Carolina Elephant tokens today?

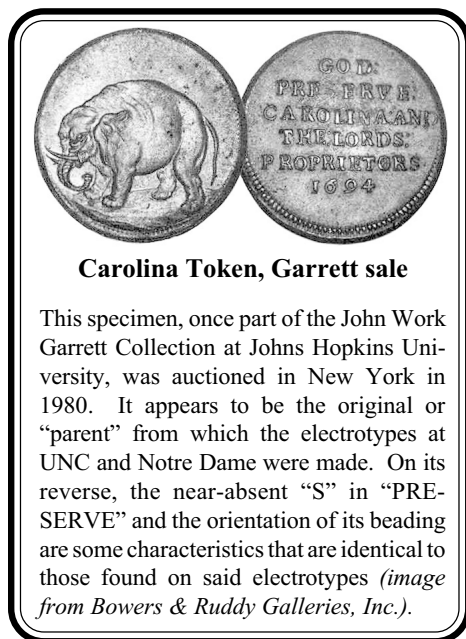
The many unanswered questions still surrounding Carolina, New England, and London Elephant tokens demand ongoing study. It is truly remarkable that so little about their production and intended use has been uncovered, or even stumbled upon, in the past three centuries. Currently, only rough estimates or approximations are cited as to how many of the Carolina and London varieties survive. One project that needs to be performed is to locate, examine, compare, and document all extant originals and reproductions of the tokens. Such a census would be a long-term project that over time could enlist into this investigation more researchers whose work may shed more light on the tokens' murky past. A census would also reduce the likelihood that documented copies of them could be misidentified or misrepresented as original in the future. In an effort to begin such a census, the final part of this study will share the results of recent inquiries made into the whereabouts of Carolina tokens and their counterparts.

Locating specimens in public institutions and in the collections of large professional organizations is decidedly easier to do and diplomatically less complex than soliciting information from private collectors. Many private collectors are, for security reasons, understandably concerned and hesitant about sharing information about their holdings. A census, though, complete with detailed diagnostics of known specimens, would greatly assist all collectors in analyzing their holdings. Collectors interested in Carolina tokens may find the preliminary results of this limited survey surprising. The results were certainly surprising to this writer who expected to find more genuine examples than he did.

Without factoring in relative condition, thick-planchet London specimens (200-249 grains) remain, as a variety, the least rare and most affordable Elephant tokens to collect. They have been offered for sale far more often than Carolina varieties. Firms such as Bowers and Merena, Stack's, Heritage Coins, Northeast Numismatics, Pahrump Coins, Early American History Auctions, and others dealers and auction houses sold London specimens in 2002 through publications, eBay, their own websites, and at conventions. As in the past, thick-planchet Londons dominated the 2002 sales, with quoted and hammer prices ranging between \$328 to over \$3,900 for a "higher than AU" London.¹²⁷ As advertised in periodicals and depicted at auction, a good number of these London pieces are sealed in hard-plastic cases by Professional Coin Grading Service (PCGS). Labels on these covers consistently identify their contents as "1/2 P," a designation that sustains the idea in the numismatic world that all the Elephant tokens, as a matter of *fact*, circulated as halfpennies.¹²⁸ Of the three types, as noted, original Carolinas come the closest to meeting the 152.2 grain English standard for seventeenth-century halfpennies.¹²⁹

Relatively few Carolina specimens and no genuine New England tokens have been offered publicly for sale in recent years. Struck New England copies by Robinson and Carolinas by Bolen appear on occasion, as do other reproductions. The genuine Carolinas that have been marketed in past decades are almost always the less rare O/E variety. No firm count of this variety has been made, but it is believed that "several dozen" exist.¹³⁰ On the other hand, the first-variety ERs are virtually never seen. More than twenty years ago, in October 1980 a hefty 205.5-grain London Elephant, one 141.6-grain Carolina ER, and one 151.7-grain Carolina O/E were auctioned in New York City at the St. Moritz Hotel by Bowers and Ruddy Galleries.¹³¹ All of these original tokens were sold from the John Work Garrett Collection for The Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Maryland.

As depicted in Bower and Ruddy's catalog for the Garrett Collection, the O/E Carolina (lot 1316) auctioned in 1980 is clearly the original or parent from which the electrotypes at Notre Dame and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill were made. The Garrett token looks identical. It has the same orientation of beading in the lower half of its rim, running 9:00-3:00. On its reverse



Carolina Token, Garrett sale

This specimen, once part of the John Work Garrett Collection at Johns Hopkins University, was auctioned in New York in 1980. It appears to be the original or "parent" from which the electrotypes at UNC and Notre Dame were made. On its reverse, the near-absent "S" in "PRESERVE" and the orientation of its beading are some characteristics that are identical to those found on said electrotypes (*image from Bowers & Ruddy Galleries, Inc.*).

the "S" in PRESERVE is so shallow it is essentially missing. Graded as "Choice Uncirculated," the near absence of a letter on a token of this quality indicates a minting flaw, perhaps a clog, in the reverse die or that the "S" was improperly cut or damaged. Owing to the limited production of Carolina Elephants, die wear would not seem to be a plausible explanation, especially this pronounced and this isolated on the pile's face. Also the drop-off of the "S" is not a characteristic found on other O/Es examined. While there is no question that the O/E specimen in the Garrett sale was genuine, its photograph in the Bowers and Ruddy catalog is of sufficient size and quality to show that it does not possess any of the other "die" characteristics that betray its electrotypes, chiefly the cluster of parallel lines at 5:00.¹³² The lines are unique to these copies. It appears, then, that the illustration of the O/E's reverse in the 2001 edition of *A Guide Book of United States Coins* is either this same Garrett token or one of its electrotypes. The origins of the electrotypes might be determined by doing further research

on the provenance of the Garrett token. In the Bowers and Ruddy catalog, it is documented that John W. Garrett obtained this original specimen at an unspecified time [ca. 1920s] from the collection of Colonel James W. Ellsworth.¹³³

The Garrett ER token auctioned in 1980 may offer an explanation for the problem with the "S" in the second variety. The Garrett specimen, graded at "Choice prooflike Uncirculated," is one of the finest quality specimens of this variety on record.¹³⁴ The photograph of that token's reverse in the Garrett catalog shows a weak, poorly registered "S" in "PRESERVE." The letter is also slightly smaller and slightly lighter in weight than the letters forming the rest of the inscription. This suggests a correction to the original die or problem that may account for the pronounced weakness of the S in the noted O/E strike. As to the number of ER specimens that exist today, a 1987 article in *Coin World* by Rusty Geiger reconfirms information listed in Bowers and Ruddy's Garrett catalog. Only five or six of the first variety were believed to exist then.¹³⁵ According to Geiger's information and to research being done at the time by Michael Hodder, a mere three genuine New England specimens existed in 1987. This is a number still generally accepted by collectors. Of these three New Englands, Hodder notes that one is the thin-planchet or "thin-flan" variety; the other two are thick-planchet specimens.¹³⁶ Information in some auction catalogs and other numismatic references appear to disagree with this, citing in reverse that there are two thin-planchet New Englands and one thick one.¹³⁷ If Hodder's census of genuine New Englands is correct, then the sole thin-planchet specimen was sold in the 1980 Garrett auction. Graded at VG, that specimen was documented at a very light 132.4 grains. If unique, it is not listed as such in the Garrett catalog, only as "Exceedingly Rare."¹³⁸ One thick New England was held by the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, but it is no longer in that collection. It was deaccessioned and sold through Stack's and later resold, again by Stack's, from the John L. Roper Collection in 1983.¹³⁹ Seven years earlier, in August 1976, the Massachusetts Historical Society sold its original first-variety and second-variety Carolina Elephants through Stack's (lots 87 and 88) at the American Numismatic Association's 85th annual convention in New York.¹⁴⁰ The only Elephant tokens now in the Massachusetts Historical Society's holdings are two Carolina copies, both by Bolen. One is his Carolina "cent"; the other, one of the dozen mules or "Double Elephants" he struck with his 1869 obverse die.¹⁴¹ There is at present no example of a New England Token in the public collections contacted for this article. All three are believed to be in private hands.

Without question, the most spectacular single auction of Elephant tokens occurred in New York City in October 1987 when the firm of Bowers and Merena offered selections from the collection of United States Ambassador and Mrs. R. Henry Norweb, Sr. Ambassador Norweb, who died in 1983, was an avid and highly discriminating collector. For decades, beginning in the 1930s, he painstakingly built upon a superb coin collection that his wife, Emery, had inherited through her own family, the Holdens of Ohio.¹⁴² Nestled within the 1987 Norweb sales were eight London Elephant tokens, two Carolinas, and one of the exceedingly rare New Englands.¹⁴³ All seven varieties of the tokens were among lots 1227-1237, making this the first time on record that all known varieties were either held in a single collection or offered *en suite*.¹⁴⁴ The Norwebs' ER Carolina, listed at 153.2 grains and 28.5 mm wide, was graded AU-55 at auction and had been in their collection since 1962, when it was purchased from "the noted colonial specialist" Richard Picker.¹⁴⁵ The O/E sold, which was an EF-40 and slightly heavier and wider, at 158.1 and 29.1, had been in the collection since its acquisition from the New Netherlands Coin Company in 1956.¹⁴⁶

Bowers and Merena's 1987 auction catalog (part 1, *Early American and U.S. Coins*) for the Norweb Collection is a must reference for anyone examining and documenting the diagnostics of Elephant tokens, whatever their type. In addition to providing images of every variety, the Norweb catalog lists all the known die combinations of the tokens, along with their respective rarity ratings. On the relevant pages in this Bowers and Merena publication, the source of this invaluable information is not readily apparent, although it was compiled by Michael Hodder, who is listed elsewhere in the catalog as director of World Coins and Americana for the company.¹⁴⁷ Hodder's die/rarity listing is currently available on the University of Notre Dame's numismatic website and, thanks to Bowers and Merena, is furnished here as another hard-copy reference for collectors:

Dies of Elephant Tokens

- Obverse 1: Elephant's tusk away from milled border.
- Obverse 2: Elephant's tusk close to milled border (both obverses bear the same elephant punch).
- Reverse A: Saltire ["X" overlying Cross of Saint George or "plain cross" at its midpoint], dagger in first quadrant of shield.
- Reverse B: Plain cross [with no overlying saltire], recutting shows in D of GOD, dagger in first quadrant.
- Reverse C: Saltire ["X" overlying Cross of Saint George], dagger in second quadrant of shield.
- Reverse D: Inscription as LON DON [dagger in first quadrant].
- Reverse E: Carolina PROPRIETERS.
- Reverse F: Carolina PROPRIETORS O/E.
- Reverse G: NEW ENGLAND.

Dies Combinations / Rarity / Planchets

1-A	Rarity 7-	Thin planchets
1-C	Rarity 7+	Thin planchets
1-E	Rarity 7	Thin planchets
2-B	Rarity 4	Thick and thin planchets
2-D	Rarity 7-	Thin planchets
2-F	Rarity 6-	Thin planchets [Breen also lists medium and thick "flans."]
2-G	Rarity 8	Thin planchets (unique) and thick planchets (two known)

In addition to perusing old auction catalogs and other publications for this article, the author corresponded or spoke directly with curators and registrars of collections at fourteen public institutions and organizations. All of these sites possessed either significant numismatic collections or had topical relevance to the history of New England, Carolina, or London. Besides communicating with staff at the Massachusetts Historical Society, other United States repositories contacted included the American Numismatic Association (ANA), the American Numismatic Society (ANS), The Charleston Museum, Durham Western Heritage Museum, Newark Museum, North Carolina Museum of History, special collections libraries at the University of Notre Dame and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and the Smithsonian Institution. Contacts in Great Britain included the British Museum, Museum of London, the Warrington Museum, and the Hunterian Museum at the University of Glasgow.¹⁴⁸ Locating examples of Carolina tokens was the priority in canvassing these institutions. No first varieties were found in the search. Combined, only five O/E Carolina tokens reported to be genuine are in all these collections. Three are at the ANS; one at the Smithsonian; and one in the British Museum's North American cabinet (accession number E4224). The British Museum's lone Carolina specimen, which measures 29mm in diameter, was acquired from Reverend C. M. Cracherode in 1799.¹⁴⁹

The ANA's 300,000-piece collection in Colorado holds only one worn Elephant copy, an O/E Carolina, by Bolen.¹⁵⁰ Another second-variety Carolina Token preserved at the North Carolina Museum of History (1952.39.1)—one that had been misidentified for more than a half century as genuine—appears also to be a Bolen product.¹⁵¹ By far, the largest single grouping of genuine and reproduction Elephant tokens (thirty-one specimens) found thus far is in New York among the one million specimens that comprise the ANS's collection. Of these thirty-one tokens, seven are Londons (three of which are genuine); four are New England copies; and twenty are Carolinas. As noted, only three of the ANS's twenty Carolina tokens are identified as genuine, and all three are catalogued as thin-planchet O/E varieties. The next largest grouping of Elephant tokens found at a public institution is within the Smithsonian's numismatic holdings, which currently total more than 1.6 million items. Of that collection's fourteen elephants, three are Londons (one of which is genuine), two are New England copies, and nine are Carolinas. The lone authentic Carolina among the Smithsonian's nine specimens is a "ragged" thick-planchet O/E obtained from the United States Mint in 1923.¹⁵²

What follows for collectors' reference are full listings (as of 2002) of the Carolina tokens at both the ANS and the Smithsonian. The author would like to thank ANS's Curator of American Coins and Currency Robert W. Hoge and the Smithsonian's Curator of Numismatics Richard G. Doty for their assistance and for providing this information:

American Numismatic Society

- Carolina, genuine, O/E, thin planchet (Breen 194), no. 1911.77.2
- Carolina, genuine, O/E, thin planchet (Breen 194), no. 1911.94.3
- Carolina, genuine, O/E, thin planchet (Breen 194), no. 1956.104.22
- Carolina, copy, electrotype, thick planchet (Breen 192), no. 1989.99.78
- Carolina, copy, electrotype, thick planchet (Breen 192), no. 1989.99.79
- Carolina, copy, electrotype, thick planchet (Breen 192), no. 1989.99.80
- Carolina, copy, electrotype, thick planchet (Breen 192), no. 1949.98.(x)
- Carolina, copy, brass [Bolen copy?], thick planchet (Breen 192), no. 1991.78.111
- Carolina, copy, cast, thick planchet (Breen 192), no. 1949.98.(x)

Carolina, copy, cast, thick[?] planchet (Breen 192), no.—
Carolina, copy, cast (Breen 192) no.—
Carolina, copy, cast of Bolen (Breen 192), no. 1990.5.2
Carolina, copy, cast of Bolen (Breen 192) no.1990.5.3
Carolina, copy, cast brass of Bolen (Breen 194), no. 1949.98.(x)
Carolina, copy by Becker (Breen 194?), no. 1989.99.171
Carolina, copy, cast (Breen 194), no. 1942.55.(x)
Carolina, hub for Bolen's obverse (cf. Breen 194), no.1948.39.(x)
Carolina, copy, copper (cf. Breen 194; Johnson 36), no.—
Carolina, copy, silver (cf. Breen 194; Johnson 37), no. 1949.98.(x)
Carolina, double elephant (Bolen), "ONLY TEN STRUCK" above (cf. Breen 194; Johnson 37) no.—

Smithsonian Institution

Carolina, genuine, O/E, thick "ragged" planchet (Breen 194), transfer from United States Mint, 1923, no. 1985.0441.0005 [According to Michael Hodder's work, all genuine Carolina specimens are on thin planchets; see Bowers and Merena's 1987 *Norweb Collection* auction catalog, 357.]
Carolina, copy, ER, cast and plated (cf. Breen 191), no. 18647.0006
Carolina, copy, O/E, lead cast and plated (cf. Breen 194), no. 18647.0045
Carolina, copy, ER, cast and plated (cf. Breen 191), no. 18647.0046
Carolina, copy, O/E, lead cast and plated (cf. Breen 194), no. 18647.0047
Carolina, copy, O/E, (cf. Breen 192), from Chase Manhattan, no. 1979.1263.00411
Carolina, copy, O/E, (cf. Breen 192), from Chase Manhattan, no. 1979.1263.00412
Carolina, copy, O/E, "probable electrotpe of a Bolen copy" (cf. Breen 194), no. 276908.0032
Carolina, copy, O/E, same as above (cf. Breen 194), no. 276908.0141

At the ANS and the Smithsonian, Carolina specimens are more numerous than totals found for the other two types. These two collections together contain only three genuine London specimens, seven London replicas, and six struck, cast, or electrotyped copies of the New England Token.¹⁵³

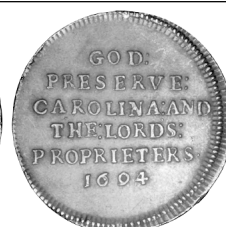
The organizations contacted for this survey form only the beginning of what will be an ongoing census of Elephant tokens. The collection and study of Elephant tokens have traditionally had a very limited following. Still, some collectors may be surprised to learn that only five Carolina tokens reported to be authentic were found in all the collections investigated. Further findings may warrant a reassessment of the current rarity ratings of both varieties of the Carolina Elephant Token and justify adjustments to the range of market values (\$2,770 - \$8,800; G-EF) now cited for them in popular price catalogs.¹⁵⁴ For its part, in aiding such considerations, the North Carolina Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill intends to continue contacting other institutions and collectors for this census. Interested collectors are urged to share information concerning Elephant tokens, especially data relating to Carolina specimens.



Genuine 1985.0441.0005



Copy 18647.0006



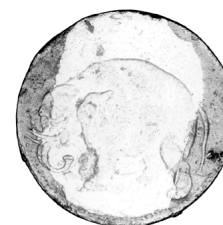
Copy 18647.0045



Copy 18647.0046



Copy 18647.0047



Copy 1979.1263.00411



Copy 1979.1263.00412



Copy 276908.0032



Copy 276908.0141



Carolina Tokens, Smithsonian Institution

Among collections held by public organizations or institutions, the American Numismatic Society maintains the largest number of Carolina specimens. Currently, the Smithsonian Institution's huge numismatic collection has only one genuine London Elephant Token and one authentic Carolina Token. The collection also contains two reproductions of the London Token, two New England copies, and eight Carolina facsimiles. Illustrated here for reference (*above*), along with their respective accession numbers, are all of the Smithsonian's Carolina pieces (*courtesy Smithsonian Institution*).

Conclusion

It is hoped that this article has succeeded in laying a few more courses to the reconstruction of the Elephant tokens' history. Chief among this work's goals was to build substantially upon the historical context in which the tokens were produced, making it a bit easier for other researchers to trace these odd pieces, especially Carolina varieties. Some new circumstantial evidence has been added to the tokens' record. Added as well is information on the elephant's long-standing symbolic value in England and the application there of its image, both commercially and numismatically. While no new facts were uncovered regarding the Elephant die that vanished from the Tower or regarding the Royal Mint's involvement in the tokens' manufacture, some further insight has been offered into the mint's operations and the composition of its staff in the late seventeenth century. What were uncovered and may prove helpful to future investigators are the names of some agents who represented the lords proprietors' interests and who personally promoted the Carolina colony in London during the 1680s and 1690s. Thomas Amy, as documented, was in a position in 1694 to be involved with the tokens' production and distribution. Relating to their circulation, more work certainly needs to be done on the Carolina Coffee-House and its possible connections to like establishments in Cornhill and to the Merchants' Walks inside the Royal Exchange.

For "Elephant" collectors, this article has identified the earliest published American references on the Carolina and New England tokens. It has also provided an overview of nineteenth- and twentieth-century reproductions and documented details about the original Carolina Token from which disturbingly high-quality electrotypes were fabricated and on occasion were either mistaken to be or misrepresented as genuine. Perhaps most importantly, this work has sought to initiate a project that will remain an ongoing process: a full census of Carolina tokens. Presumably, this project will never conclude, for however thorough and systematic the search, a handful of authentic specimens will continue to reside and discreetly hide in private collections or lie undetected in artifact drawers at public institutions where numismatic studies are ignored. This article, it is also hoped, will have the effect of at least drawing more eyes and brain cells into the search. Both seasoned numismatists and new collectors are therefore encouraged to strap on their boots, grab their muskets, and come join the hunt for Carolina elephants. **CNL**

Endnotes

1 Frank Steimle, "A Tricentennial Review and Comments on the 'God Preserve . . .' Elephant Token," *The Colonial Newsletter*, 35 (April 1995, serial no. 99), 1481-87; David Gladfelter, "A Tale of Two Elephants," *The Colonial Newsletter*, 35 (July 1995, serial no. 100), 1511-14, hereafter cited "Steimle, *CNL*" and "Gladfelter, *CNL*."

2 Steimle, *CNL*, 1483, 1485-86; see Michael J. Hodder's commentaries in Bowers and Merena auction catalog, *The Norweb Collection: Early American and U.S. Coins*, October 12-13, 1987 (Wolfeboro, New Hampshire: Bowers and Merena, 1987), 360, hereafter cited "Bowers and Merena, *Norweb Collection*."

3 Gladfelter, *CNL*, 1512.

4 Richard G. Doty reviews various theories regarding an earlier production of the London tokens in "The Carolina and New England Elephant Tokens," chapter seven, *Studies on Money in Early America* (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1976), 91-93, hereafter cited "Doty, *Studies on Money*"; Rusty Geiger, "Elephant tokens one legacy of N.C. Colony," *Coin World*, volume 28, February 25, 1987, 38, hereafter cited "Geiger, *Coin World*, February 25, 1987."

5 Steimle, *CNL*, 1487.

6 The Robert H. Gore Numismatic Collection at the University of Notre Dame is housed in the Hesburgh Library. Louis Jordan, "The Elephant Tokens, 1694: Introduction" (hereafter cited as "Jordan, Gore Collection, University of Notre Dame"). The site can be accessed currently at the following address: <http://www.coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/ElephantTokens.intro.html>

7 *Ibid*.

8 Christopher Hibbert, *Charles I* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 278-80.

9 Hugh Talmage Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome, *The History of a Southern State: North Carolina* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1963), 29-30.

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29 Steimle, *CNL*, 1481; Gladfelter, *CNL*, 1512.

30 Sarah Barter, "The Mint," chapter 13, *The Tower of London: Its Buildings and Institutions*, edited by John Charlton (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Department of Environment, 1978), 119, hereafter cited "Barter, 'The Mint,' *Tower of London*."

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44 Bell, *St. Peter Ad Vincula*, 288-89.

45 Linecar, *British Coin Designs*, 70; Bell, *St. Peter Ad Vincula*, 290.

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55 *Ibid*.

56 *Ibid*, 153.

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58 *Ibid*.

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63 William H. Harris and Judith S. Levey (eds.), *New Columbia Encyclopedia* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1975), 854.

64 Latham and Matthews, *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 152-53.

65 Thornbury, *Old London*, 89.

66 Simon Thurley, *et al*, *The Tower of London: The Official Guide Book* (London: Historic Royal Palaces, 2002), 49, hereafter cited "Thurley and others, *Tower of London Guide*."

67 The author personally examined and took digital images of this thirteenth-century "elephant" document when he visited the Tower of London, September 21, 2002. An exhibit label credits the original document to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge University.

68 The image of an elephant is on a Scottish seal as early as 1357. It was an image adopted for the royal burgh of Dumbarton and is still in use today there. In England, the city of Coventry has since the Middle Ages been closely identified with the elephant symbol. An elephant and castle are central elements on that city's coat of arms. See J. P. Brooke-Little's revision of A.C. Fox-Davies' *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1969).

69 Seaby, *British Coinage*, 122; John Warry, *Warfare in the Classical World* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 84-85.

70 Hibbert and Weinreb, *London Encyclopedia*, 256; Aytoun Ellis, *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffee-Houses* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1956), 207, hereafter cited "Ellis, *The Penny Universities*." The Elephant and Castle in London and Elephant Coffee-House in Bristol are two of many famous name-related establishments in seventeenth-century England.

71 Linecar, *British Coin Designs*, 68.

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74 Peck, *English Coins in the British Museum*, 138.

75 George C. Williamson, *Trade Tokens Issued in the Seventeenth Century in England, Wales, and Ireland, By Corporations, Merchants, Tradesmen, Etc: A New and Revised Edition of William Boyne's Work* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), volume 1 of 2, 764, hereafter cited "Williamson, *Trade Tokens*."

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77 *Ibid*, volume 2, 1206.

78 Richard G. Doty, "English Tokens" in *Perspectives in Numismatics: Studies Presented to the Chicago Coin Club* edited by Saul B. Needleman (Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1986), 147-76, hereafter cited "Doty, *Perspectives in Numismatics*." Doty notes in his paper that the royal government issued its own copper farthings and halfpennies in 1672 and 1673. "This first regal copper issue," he writes, "was buttressed by a royal proclamation declaring tokens illegal." Doty adds, "The last English tokens of this period date from 1674, although they were permitted in Ireland for a few years longer, until 1679."

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96 Bowers and Merena, *Norweb Collection*, 361; Gladfelter, *CNL*, 1511.

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103 *Ibid*, 545.

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106 *Ibid*; Mary Sauvain, "Some collectors prize fake numismatic items," *Coin World*, January 6, 1992, 54.

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112 NCC, UNC-Chapel Hill, CK.995.

113 *Ibid*, CK.1016.1-2.

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123 The heaviest second-variety original examined by this author is pictured in Bowers and Merena, *Norweb Collection*, 361; its given weight is 158.1 grains.

124 Jordan, Gore Collection, University of Notre Dame, to author, May 21, 2001.

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131 *Ibid.*, frontispiece.

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134 *Ibid.*, 47.

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144 Gladfelter, *CNL*, 1511.

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148 Robert Wilson Hoge, curator of American coins and currency, American Numismatic Society, New York; Larry Lee, museum curator, and Chris Connell, museum collections manager, American Numismatic Association, Colorado Springs, Colorado (note: Mr. Lee also formerly administered the Byron Reed Collection at the Durham Western Heritage Museum, Omaha, Nebraska); Philip Attwood, curator, Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London; Grahame Long, curator, Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina; Sally-Anne Coupar, curator of coins, and Donal Bateson, Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, Scotland; Anne E. Bentley, curator and acting registrar, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; R. Neil Fulghum, keeper, North Carolina Collection Gallery, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; John Campbell, registrar, North Carolina Museum of History, Raleigh; Hazel R. Forsythe, curator of Post-Medieval, Museum of London; Rebecca Buck, chief registrar, Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey; Richard G. Doty, curator of numismatics, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Louis Jordan, director of special collections, Hesburgh Library, University of Notre Dame, Indiana; Rolf Zeegers, collections officer, Warrington Museum and Art Gallery, Warrington, England.

149 Philip Attwood, British Museum, to author, April 8, 2002; John Campbell, North Carolina Museum of History, Raleigh, to author, March 27, 2002.

150 Correspondence of Christopher Connell, ANA, to author, March 29, 2002; numismatic files, NCC, UNC-Chapel Hill.

151 The author examined digital images of the North Carolina Museum of History's token (1952.39.1) on November 25, 2002, and identified it then as a reproduction, likely a product of John Adams Bolen. The spacing and form of the reverse inscription's lettering are identical to those found on a confirmed Bolen copy (7803-0031) held by ANA; Katherine Berry, registrar, North Carolina Museum of History, Raleigh.

152 Correspondence of Doty, Smithsonian, to author, April 9, 2002.

153 Correspondence of Hoge, ANS, to author, April 3, 2002; Doty, Smithsonian, to author, April 9, 2002.

154 Yeoman, R. S. (edited by Kenneth Bressett), *A Guide Book of United States Coins*, 2003, 56th edition (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2002), 26; Marc Hudgeons and Tom Hudgeons, *Official 2003 Blackbook Price Guide to United States Coins*, 41st edition (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 2002), 199-201. The 2003 *A Guide Book of United States Coins* (the "Red Book") cites VG specimens of the O/E tokens as having an approximate market value of \$3,400; VF specimens of this variety, \$7,000. The respective VG-VF range for the first-variety ER tokens in the Red Book is given at \$3,800-\$8,800. On the other hand, G specimens of O/Es in the 2003 *Blackbook* are priced at \$2,750; EF specimens of the same, at \$7,500. The *Blackbook* gives no value for ER specimens, whatever their condition, listing them only as "EXTREMELY RARE." For additional information on Carolina tokens' values, see Walter Breen's *Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins* (New York, 1988), 33. Breen provides details on the auction prices realized for higher grade ERs and O/Es in recent decades. For example, two uncirculated ERs (Breen, 191) brought \$30,000 and \$34,000; an EF specimen of an O/E (Breen, 192) sold in 1976 for \$9,500.